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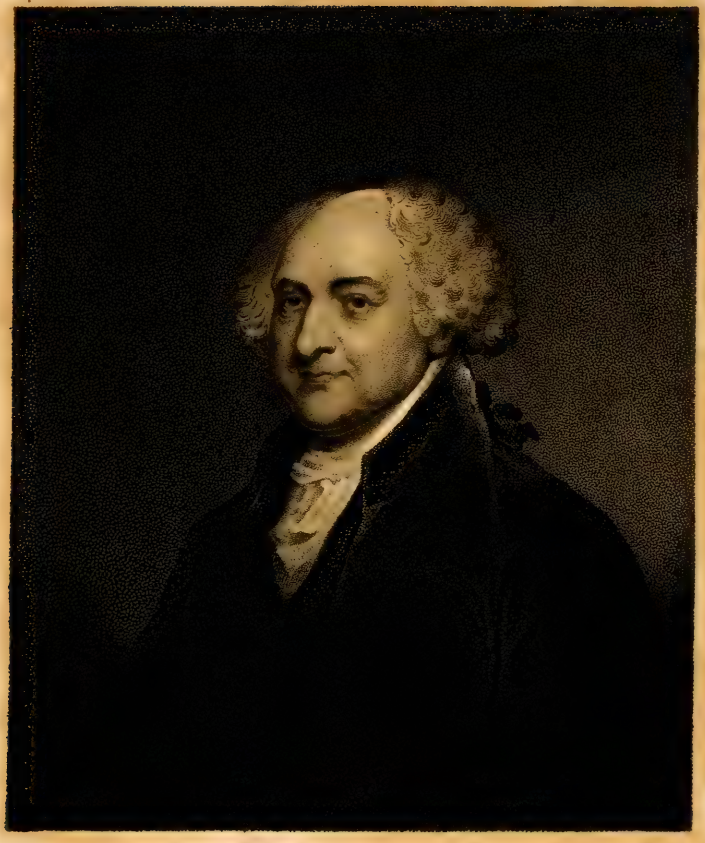
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.



Engraved by H. Langdon from a Painting by Stuart. Portrait of Stuart

JOHN ADAMS.

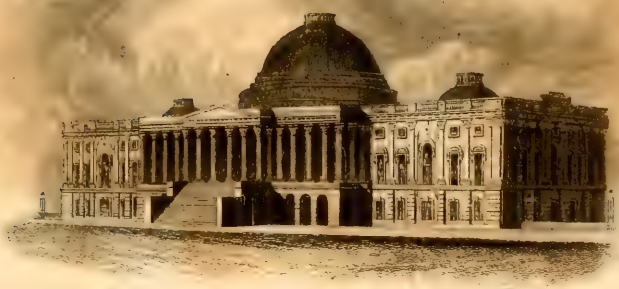
John Adams

THE

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS.



EASTERN FRONT OF THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON CITY.

MDCCCXXXIX.

THE

NATIONAL

PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS.

CONDUCTED BY

JAMES B. LONGACRE, PHILADELPHIA; AND JAMES HERRING, NEW YORK:

Under the Superintendence of the American Academy of the Fine Arts.

VOLUME IV.

"These are deeds which should not pass away,
And names that must not wither, though the earth
Forgets her empires with a just decay,
The enslavers and the enslaved, their death and birth."

PHILADELPHIA, JAMES B. LONGACRE.
NEW YORK, JAMES HERRING.
1839.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1839, by James B. Longacre, in the Office of the Clerk of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

ADDRESS.

The fourth volume of the National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans is brought to a close, under circumstances materially different from those which preceded it. It might reasonably have been expected, that the concluding volume of the series would have appeared much earlier after the publication of the third; to those, however, who are aware of the peculiar depression experienced by the publishing interest during the commercial embarrassments which have borne so heavily on our country for the last two years, it cannot be matter of great surprise to learn that the publishers of this work have shared in the general calamity, and that in consequence two years have passed without presenting the date of either upon the fourth volume. Without farther preface, it is sufficient to state, that the derangement and uncertainty of the fiscal exchanges throughout the union, rendered the postponement of the publication a measure not only of prudence but of necessity.

It is satisfactory, however, to know that the value of the materials contained in the volume now presented to the patrons of the work, is in no respect diminished by the delay. The interest that must attach to the subjects embraced in its pages can hardly be affected by the lapse of time; nor has the execution of the work suffered by the length of time allowed for its completion: the greatest disadvantage is that which the proprietors and conductors of the work have experienced, by being prevented from realizing any advantage from the subscriptions while the publication was retarded.

As this volume must close our labors for the present, some reference to the progress and purpose of the work seems to be required by the occasion.

The materials, both pictoral and literary, that have been collected and arranged in the volumes now before the public, have been obtained at a cost of labor, time, and money, very far surpassing any calculation that could have been made at the inception of the work. Although it was obvious that resort must be had to remote parts of the country for the pictures and essential documents required, yet the difficulty of tracing and obtaining them has, in very many instances, greatly exceeded the anticipations of the conductors. There being in our country no central repository for the preservation of the Portraits, or the important papers relating to the most distinguished individuals, these materials, so essential to our national history and honor, have frequently fallen into the hands of persons but imperfectly aware of their value, and consequently indifferent to their preservation.

To remedy as far as possible, the disadvantages of this peculiarity in the situation of our country and habits of our people, the National Portrait Gallery was undertaken. To a very great extent the object has been accomplished. The invaluable relics of those whose lives have most eminently contributed to the forma-

tion of our character, and proud distinction as a self-governed people, have in many instances been saved from destruction or wrested from oblivion.

It cannot be expected that an equal degree of excellence should mark the pictures in such a collection; but whatever inferiority may attach to any of them as works of art, their value, as the *most*, if not the *only* authentic *portraits* of persons whose names are enrolled on the brightest pages of our national annals, demands their preservation. By far the greater portion of the portraits require no apology for the artists; the specimens here perpetuated by the graver, from the pencils of Stuart, Copley, Trumbull, Sully, Leslie, Newton, Inman, Malbone, Ingham, Durand, &c., are sufficient to justify the pride of every American in the genius and power of our artists.

Of the accompanying memoirs it may be confidently asserted, that allowing for the limited space necessarily assigned to each, a more interesting and authentic collection of biographical and historical facts, in relation to the men of this union and their times, has not before been presented to the people. Every exertion has been used to secure the most perfect accuracy, and to enlist the services of the most accomplished and eminent writers.

Nor has any expense been spared in any department of the undertaking, which the subject and the circumstances would justify. We have, throughout, endeavored to produce a work which all who are swayed by the impulses of patriotism, the honor, or the arts of our land, may regard not merely with favor, but with exultation, as a monument of national gratitude and the evidence of a just appreciation of the brave, the honorable, and virtuous achievements which indicate to the world the high destiny of the republic.

James B. Longacre,
James Herring.

1839.

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JOHN ADAMS.

Among the earliest settlers of the English colonies in New England was a family by the name of Adams. One of the grantees of the charter of Charles the First to the London Company was named Thomas Adams, though it does not appear that he was of those who emigrated with Governor Winthrop, in 1630.

It appears by the Governor's journal, that in 1634 there came a considerable number of colonists, under the pastoral superintendence of the Rev. Thomas Parker, in a vessel from Ipswich, in the county of Essex, in the neighborhood of which is the small town of Braintree.

There was, it seems, after their arrival, some difficulty in deciding where they should be located. It was finally determined that Mount Wollaston, situated within the harbor, and distant about nine miles from the three mountains, and whence the intrusive merry mountaineer Morton had been expelled, should, with an enlarged boundary, be annexed to *Boston ;* and the lands within that boundary were granted in various proportions to individuals, chiefly, if not entirely, of the new company from Ipswich.

The settlement soon increased ; and feeling, like all the original settlements in New England, the want of religious instruction and social worship, found it a great inconvenience to travel nine or ten miles every Sunday to reach the place of their devotions. In 1636 they began to hold meetings, and to hear occasional preachers, at Mount Wollaston itself. Three years afterwards they associated themselves under a covenant as a Christian Church ; and in 1640 were incorporated as a separate town, by the name of *Braintree.*

Of this town Henry Adams, junior, was the first town-clerk ; and the first pages of the original town records, still extant, are in his handwriting. He was the oldest of eight sons, with whom his father, Henry Adams, had emigrated, probably from Braintree in England, and who had arrived in the vessel from Ipswich in 1634. Henry Adams the

elder, died in 1646, leaving a widow, and a daughter named Ursula, besides the eight sons above-mentioned. He had been a brewer in England, and had set up a brewery in his new habitation. This establishment was continued by the youngest but one of his sons, named Joseph. The other sons sought their fortunes in other towns, and chiefly among their first settlers. Henry, who had been the first town clerk of Braintree, removed, at the time of the incorporation of Medfield in 1652, to that place, and was again the first town-clerk there.

Joseph, the son who remained at Braintree, was born in 1626; was at the time of the emigration of the family from England, a boy of eight years old, and died at the age of sixty-eight in 1694, leaving ten children,—five sons and five daughters.

One of these sons, named John, settled in Boston, and was father of Samuel Adams, and grandfather of the revolutionary patriot of that name.

Another son, named also Joseph, was born in 1654; married Hannah Bass, a daughter of Ruth Alden, and grand-daughter of John Alden of the May Flower, and died in 1736 at the age of eighty-two.

His second son named John, born in 1689, was the father of JOHN ADAMS, the subject of the present memoir. His mother was Susanna, daughter of Peter Boylston, and niece of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, renowned as the first introducer of inoculation for the small-pox in the British dominions.

This JOHN ADAMS was born on the 30th October, 1735, at Braintree. His father's elder brother, Joseph, had been educated at Harvard College; and was for upwards of sixty years minister of a Congregational church at Newington, New Hampshire.

John Adams, the father, was a farmer of small estate and a common school education. He lived and died, as his father and grandfather had done before him, in that mediocrity of condition between affluence and poverty, most propitious to the exercise of the ordinary duties of life, and to the enjoyment of individual happiness. He was for many years a deacon of the church, and a select man of the town, without enjoying or aspiring to any higher dignity. He was in his religious opinions, like most of the inhabitants of New England at that time, a rigid Calvinist, and was desirous of bestowing upon his eldest son the benefit of a classical education, to prepare him for the same profession with that of his elder brother, the minister of the gospel at Newington.

JOHN ADAMS, the son, had at that early age no vocation for the Church, nor even for a college education. Upon his father's asking

him to what occupation in life he would prefer to be raised, he answered that he wished to be *a farmer*. His father, without attempting directly to control his inclination, replied that it should be as he desired. He accordingly took him out with himself the next day upon the farm, and gave him practical experience of the labors of the plough, the spade, and the scythe. At the close of the day the young farmer told his father that he would go to school. He retained, however, his fondness for farming to the last years of his life.

He was accordingly placed under the tuition of Mr. Marsh, the keeper of a school then residing at Braintree, and who, ten years afterwards, was also the instructor of Josiah Quincy, the celebrated patriot, who lived but to share the first trials and to face the impending terrors of the revolution.

In 1751, at the age of sixteen, JOHN ADAMS was admitted as a student at Harvard College, and in 1755 was graduated as Bachelor of Arts. The class to which he belonged stands eminent on the College catalogue, for the unusual number of men distinguished in after-life. Among them were Samuel Locke, some time President of the College; Moses Hemmenway, subsequently a divine of high reputation; Sir John Wentworth, Governor of the province of New Hampshire; William Browne, a judge of the Superior Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and afterwards Governor of the island of Bermuda; David Sewall, many years judge of the District Court of the United States in the district, and afterwards State of Maine; and Tristram Dalton, a Senator of the United States. Three of these had so far distinguished themselves while under-graduates, that, in the traditions of the College, it was for many years afterwards known by the sons of Harvard as the class of Adams, Hemmenway, and Locke.

John Adams, the father, had thus given to his eldest son a liberal education to fit him for the gospel ministry. He had two other sons, Peter Boylston and Elihu, whom he was educating to the profession which JOHN had at first preferred, of *farmers*. In this profession Peter Boylston continued to the end of a long life, holding for many years a commission as a justice of the peace, and serving for some time the town of Quincy as their representative in the legislature of the Commonwealth. He died in 1822 at the age of eighty-four, leaving numerous descendants among the respectable inhabitants of Quincy and of Boston. Elihu, at the commencement of the Revolution, entered the army as a captain, and with multitudes of others fell a victim to the epidemic dysentery of 1775. He left two sons and one daughter, whose posterity reside in the towns of Randolph, (originally a part of

Braintree,) Abington, and Bridgewater. The daughter was the mother of Aaron Hobart, several years a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, and afterwards of the Council of the Commonwealth.

Among the usages of the primitive inhabitants of the villages of New England, a *liberal*, that is, a college education, was considered as an outfit for life, and equivalent to the double portion of an eldest son. Upon being graduated at the College in 1755, JOHN ADAMS, at the age of twenty, had received this double portion, and was thenceforth to provide for himself.

"The world was all before him, and Providence his guide."

At the commencement, when he was graduated, there were present one or more of the select-men of the town of Worcester, which was then in want of a teacher for the town school. They proposed to Mr. Adams to undertake this service, and he accepted the invitation. He repaired immediately to Worcester, and took upon him the arduous duties of his office; pursuing at the same time the studies which were to prepare him for the ministry.

His entrance thus upon the theatre of active life was at a period of great political excitement. Precisely at the time when he went to reside at Worcester, occurred the first incidents of the seven years' war, waged between France and Britain for the mastery of the North American continent. The disaster of Braddock's defeat and death happened precisely at that time, like the shock of an earthquake throughout the British colonies. Politics were the speculation of every mind —the prevailing topic of every conversation. It was then that he wrote to his kinsman, Nathaniel Webb, that prophetic letter which has been justly called a literary phenomenon, and which shadowed forth the future revolution of Independence, and the naval glories of this Union.

His father had fondly cherished the hope that he was raising, by the education of his son, a monumental pillar of the Calvinistic church; and he himself, reluctant at the thought of disappointing the hopes of his father, and unwilling to embrace a profession laboring then under strong prejudices unfavorable to it among the people of New England, had acquiesced in the purpose which had devoted him to the gospel ministry. But the progress of his theological studies soon gave him an irresistible distaste for the Calvinistic doctrines. The writings of Archbishop Tillotson, then at the summit of their reputation; the pro-

found analysis of Bishop Butler, with his sermons upon human nature and upon the character of Balaam, took such hold upon his memory, his imagination, and his judgment, that they extirpated from his mind every root of Calvinism that had been implanted in it; and the philosophical works of Bolingbroke, then a dazzling novelty in the literary world, although wholly successless in their tendency to shake his faith in the sublime and eternal truths of the gospel, contributed effectively to wean him from the creed of the Genevan Reformer.

About one year after his first arrival at Worcester, after much anxious deliberation and consultation with confidential friends, he resolved to relinquish the study of divinity, and to undertake that of the law. He accordingly entered the office of Col. James Putnam, then a lawyer of reputation at Worcester, and became at the same time an inmate of his house. With him he lived in perfect harmony for the space of two years, pursuing, with indefatigable diligence, the study of the law, and keeping at the same time the town school. In 1758 he completed his preparatory professional studies; relinquished his school, and returned to his paternal mansion at Braintree. He applied, though a total stranger, to Jeremy Gridley, then the most eminent lawyer in New England, and Attorney-general of the Province, to present him to the judges of the Superior Court for admission to the Bar. Mr. Gridley examined him with regard to his proficiency in the studies appropriate to his profession, and warmly recommended him to the Court, securing thereby his admission.

He opened an office, and commenced the practice in his native town. Two years after, in 1760, he lost his father; but continued to reside with his mother and brother till 1764. His attendance upon the Courts in the counties of Suffolk, and of the old colony, was assiduous; but an accidental engagement in a private cause, before the Court at Plymouth, gave him the opportunity to display talents, which brought him immediately into large and profitable practice. In 1762 the seven years' war was concluded by the cession to Great Britain and Spain of all the possessions of France on the continent of North America; and at the same time commenced in England the system of policy, which terminated in the Revolution of Independence. It commenced by an increased rigor of exaction and of restriction in the execution of the laws of trade. For this purpose the officers of the customs were instructed by an order of the royal council, to apply, in cases when they suspected articles of merchandize upon which the duties had not been paid, were concealed, to the justices of the Superior Courts, for *writs of assistance*, such as were sometimes issued from the Court

of Exchequer in England, authorizing them to enter the houses and warehouses of the merchants, to detect the unlawfully imported goods. This was a new and odious process, to which the merchants in the colonies had never before been subjected; and its legality was immediately contested before the Superior Court. It was substantially the same case as that of the general search warrants, which some years after kindled so fierce and inextinguishable a flame upon the prosecution of John Wilkes in London. The spirit of English liberty was as sensitive and as intractable in the colonies, as it ever had been in the mother country. The remark of Junius, that the dogs and horses of England lost their metal by removing to another hemisphere, but that patriotism was improved by *transportation*, meant by him for a sarcasm, was a truth too serious for the derision of a British statesman. The trial of John Peter Zenger, at New-York, had vindicated the freedom of the press, and the rights of juries, twenty years before they issued victorious from the re-considered opinions of Camden, and the prevaricating wisdom of Mansfield. And in the trial of the writs of assistance, at Boston, James Otis had

> ————"taught the age to quit their clogs
> "By the known rules of ancient Liberty;"

while the search warrants for the Essay on Woman, and the 45th number of the North Briton, and the Letter of Junius to the King, were slumbering in the womb of futurity.

John Adams, at the age of twenty-seven, attended as a member of the bar, the trial upon the writs of assistance, and witnessed the splendid exhibitions of genius and learning exerted in the cause of freedom by the pioneer of American Independence, James Otis. Small is the portion of mankind to whom it is given to discern the great events which control the destinies of nations in their seminal principles. The origin of the American Revolution has been usually ascribed to the Stamp Act; John Adams had seen it in the first campaign of the seven years' war in 1755. He saw and marked its progress on the argument of James Otis upon writs of assistance in 1762; a cause which, although it produced great excitement at the time, would scarcely have been noticed among the historical incidents of the term, but for the minutes, which his curiosity induced him to take of the trial as it proceeded, and from an imperfect copy of which, taken afterwards by one of the law students in his office, the account of it in the subsequent histories of that period has been published.

On the 25th of October, 1764, he was married to Abigail Smith,

second daughter of William Smith, minister of a congregational church at Weymouth, then in her twentieth year.

This was the memorable year of the Stamp Act, and from this year may be dated his first entrance upon political life. His friend and patron, Gridley, had just before that formed, with some other members of the bar and men of literary taste, a small social circle, who met once a week at each other's houses for the discussion of topics of literature and law, oral or in writing. Before this society Mr. Adams one evening read a short paper of Observations on the Feudal and Canon Law, which he afterwards published in the Patriotic newspaper. The sensation which it produced on the public mind was so great, that in the following year it was re-published in London, and there attributed to the pen of Gridley. It has been frequently since re-published, and even now may be considered as a worthy precursor to the declaration of Independence.

Popular commotions prevented the landing of the Stamp Act papers, which had been sent from England to be used in all processes before the judicial courts.

Thomas Hutchinson, at once the Lieut. Governor and Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Province, had closed the sessions of the Court, on the pretence that they could not be lawfully held but by using the stamps.

The suspension of the Courts was severely felt throughout the Province ; but especially in the town of Boston, where, after some time, a town meeting was held, at which it was determined to present a petition to the Governor and Council, that the Courts of justice might be forthwith re-opened ; and they prayed to be heard by counsel in support of the petition. This was accorded, and the counsel appointed by the town were Jeremy Gridley, then Attorney-general, James Otis, and John Adams, then a young man of thirty, and not even an inhabitant of the town. The Governor and Council had not ventured to refuse hearing counsel in support of the town petition ; but, perhaps, from the same timid policy, would hear them only with closed doors, and without admitting any supernumerary hearers. They suggested to the three gentlemen, who represented the town, the expediency of deciding between themselves the points upon which they proposed to support the petition. Mr. Gridley, the officer of the crown, without entering upon the question of right, represented only the general and severe distress suffered by all classes of the people, not only of the town, but of the whole province, by the suspension of all proceedings in the Judicial Courts. Mr. Otis argued, that from this unfore-

seen and unexampled state of things, the nature of the case gave a right of necessity, authorizing the Governor and Council to command the re-opening of the Court until the pleasure of the authority beyond the sea could be known. Mr. Adams assumed, as the basis of his argument, that the British Parliament had no right of taxation over the colonies. That the Stamp Act was an assumption of power, unwarranted by, and inconsistent with, the principles of the English constitution, and with the charter of the Province. That it was null and void; binding neither upon the people, nor upon the courts of justice in the colony; and that it was the duty of the Governor and Council to require of the judges of the Courts, that they should resume their judicial Courts, and proceed without exacting from suitors, or applying to their own records, the use of any stamps whatever. This, and a cotemporaneous resolution of the same import, introduced into the House of Representatives of the Province by Samuel Adams, are believed to have been the first direct denial of the unlimited right of legislation of Parliament over the colonies in the progress of that controversy. In the argument before the Governor and Council, it could be assumed only by Mr. Adams. Mr. Gridley being at that time the king's Attorney-general, and Mr. Otis having, in a celebrated pamphlet on the rights of the colonies, shortly before published, admitted the right of taxation to be among the lawful authorities of Parliament.

The Governor and Council deferred their decision upon the petition of the town, and before the period arrived for the next regular session of the Superior Court, the intelligence came of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and relieved them from the necessity of any decision upon it.

The selection of Mr. Adams as one of the law council of the town of Boston upon this memorable occasion, was at once an introduction to a career of political eminence, and a signal advancement of his professional reputation as a lawyer. He had already, as chairman of a committee of the town of Braintree, draughted instructions, on the subject of the Stamp Act, to the Representative of the town in the general court, which had been published, and attracted much notice; and he was shortly after elected one of the select-men of the town.

He had formed an intimate acquaintance and warm friendship with Jonathan Sewall, who had married a Miss Quincy, a relation of Mr. Adams. Sewall, a man of fine talents, distinguished as an orator and a writer, had commenced his career as a patriot; but had been drawn over by the artifices of Bernard and Hutchinson, and by lucrative and honorable offices, to the royal cause. Through him the office of advocate-general was offered to Mr. Adams, which he declined, though

tendered with an assurance that no sacrifice of his political sentiments would be expected from him by his acceptance of the office. He was already known in that Court by the defence of Ansell Nickerson, an American seaman, who, in self-defence against a press-gang from a king's ship in the harbor of Boston, had killed, with the stroke of a harpoon, their commander, Lieut. Panton. Mr. Adams's defence was, that the *usage* of impressment had never extended to the colonies; that the attempt to impress Nickerson was, on the part of Lieutenant Panton, unlawful; and that the act of Nickerson in killing him was justifiable homicide. Although the commander of the naval force on the American station, Captain Hood, afterwards Lord Hood, a name illustrious in the naval annals of Britain, was a member of the Court which decided the fate of Nickerson, he was acquitted and discharged; and thus, even before the question of Parliamentary taxation had been brought to its issue in blood, it was solemnly settled that the royal prerogative of impressment did not extend to the colonies. That prerogative, so utterly irreconcileable with the fundamental principle of the great charter, "*nullus homo capietur*," that dark spot on the snow-white standard of English freedom, that brand of servitude which Foster, from the judicial bench, stamped on the forehead of the British seaman; that shame to the legislation of the mother country, was, by the exertions of John Adams, banished from the code of colonial law.

In the inimitable portrait of the just man drawn by the great Roman Lyric Poet, he is said to be equally immovable from his purpose by the flashing eye of the tyrant, and by the burning fury of a multitude commanding him to do wrong. Of all revolutions, ancient or modern, that of American Independence was pre-eminently popular. It was emphatically the revolution of the people. Not one noble name of the parent realm is found recorded upon its annals, as armed in the defence of the cause of freedom, or assisting in the councils of the confederacy; a few foreign nobles, La Fayette, De Kalb, Pulaski, Steuben, Du Portail, Du Coudray, and a single claimant of a British peerage, Lord Stirling, warmed by the spirit of freedom, and stimulated by the electric spark of military adventure, joined the standard of our country; and more than one of them laid down their lives in her cause. Of the natives of the land, not one—not Washington himself—could be justly styled the founder of Independence. The title of *Liberator*, since applied to an immeasurably inferior man in another continent of this hemisphere, could not be, and never was, applied to Washington. Of the nation, formed after the revolution was accomplished, he was by

the *one people* placed at the head; of the revolution itself, he was but the *arm*.

North American Independence was achieved by a new phenomenon in the history of mankind,—by a self-formed, self-constituted, and self-governed Democracy. There were leaders of the people in the several colonies; there were representatives of the colonies, and afterwards of the States in the continental Congress; there was a continental army, a continental navy, and a continental currency; agents, factors, and soldiers; but the living soul, the vivifying spirit of the whole, was a steady, firm, resolute, inflexible will of the people, marching through fire and sword, and pestilence and famine, and bent to march, were it through the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds—to INDEPENDENCE.

The objections urged from time immemorial against the democracies of former ages were, the *instability* of the popular will—the impetuosity of their passions—the fluctuation of their counsels, and the impossibility of resisting their occasional and transitory animosities and resentments. Little of al this was seen in the course of the North American revolution. Even before its outset the people were trained to a spirit of self-control, well suited to prepare them for the trials that awaited them, and to carry them triumphantly through the fiery ordeal. No event contributed more to the formation of this spirit than the tragedy of the 5th of March, 1770, and its consequences. To suppress the popular commotions which the system of Parliamentary taxation had excited and could not fail to provoke, two regiments of soldiers were stationed at Boston; and becoming daily more odious to the inhabitants, were exposed to continual insults from the unguarded and indiscreet among them. On the 5th of March, a small party of the soldiers, under command of Lieut. Preston, were thus assailed and insulted by a crowd of people gathering round them, until they fired upon them, and killed and wounded several persons. The passions of the people were roused to the highest pitch of indignation, but manifested themselves by no violence or excess. Lieutenant Preston and six of the soldiers were arrested by the civil authority, and tried before the Superior Court for murder. They were so well advised as to apply to JOHN ADAMS and Josiah Quincy, known as among the most ardent among the patriots, to defend them; and they hesitated not to undertake the task. The momentary passions of the people identified the sufferings of the victims of that night with the cause of the country, and JOHN ADAMS and Josiah Quincy were signalized as deserters from the standard of freedom. How great was the load of public obloquy under

which they labored, lives yet in the memory of surviving witnesses; and is recorded in the memoir of the life of Josiah Quincy, which the filial veneration of a son, worthy of such a father, has given to the world. Among the most affecting incidents related in that volume, and the most deeply interesting documents appended to it, are the recital of this event, and the correspondence between Josiah Quincy the defender of the soldiers and his father on that occasion. The fortitude of JOHN ADAMS was brought to a test equally severe; as the elder council for the prisoners on trial, it was his duty to close the argument in their defence. The writer of this article has often heard from individuals, who had been present among the crowd of spectators at the trial, the electrical effect produced upon the jury, and upon the immense and excited auditory, by the first sentence with which he opened his defence; which was the following citation from the then recently published work of Beccaria.

"May it please your Honors, and you, Gentlemen of the Jury.

"I am for the prisoners at the bar, and shall apologize for it only in the words of the Marquis Beccaria. 'If I can but be the instrument of preserving one life, his blessing and tears of transport shall be a sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of all mankind.'"

Captain Preston and the soldiers were acquitted, excepting two, who were found guilty of manslaughter, an offence which, being at that time entitled to the benefit of clergy, was subject to no sharper penalty than the gentle application of a cold iron to the hand, and, except as a warning for the future, was equivalent to an acquittal.

The town of Boston instituted an annual commemoration of the massacre of the 5th of March, by the delivery of an oration to the inhabitants assembled in town meeting. This anniversary was thus celebrated for a succession of thirteen years, until the close of the Revolutionary War, when that of the 4th of July, the day of national Independence, was substituted in its place. The Boston massacre is, however, memorable as the first example of those annual commemorations by public discourses ever since so acceptable to the people.

Within two months after the trial of the soldiers, MR. ADAMS received a new testimonial of the favor and confidence of his townsmen, by their election of him as one of their Representatives in the General Court or Colonial Legislature. In this body the conflict of principles between metropolitan authority and British colonial liberty was pertinaciously maintained. Sir Francis Bernard had just before closed his inglorious career, by seeking refuge in his own country from the in-

dignation of the people over whom he had been sent to rule. He was succeeded by Thomas Hutchinson, a native of the province, a man of considerable talent, great industry, and of grasping ambition; who, in evil hour for himself, preferred the path of royal favor to that of patriotism for the ascent to power and fortune.

In times of civil commotion, the immediate subject of contention between the parties scarcely ever discloses to the superficial observer the great questions at issue between them. The first collision between Hutchinson and the two branches of the General Court was about the *place* where they were to hold their sessions.

Hutchinson, by instructions, secretly suggested by himself, convened the General Court at Cambridge, instead of Boston. They claimed it as a chartered right to meet at the town-house in Boston; and hence a long controversy between the Governor and the two houses, which, after three years of obstinate discussion, terminated by the restoration of the Legislature to their accustomed place of meeting.

By the charter of the colony, the members of the House of Representatives were annually elected by the people of the towns, and twenty-eight counsellors by the House of Representatives and council, with the approbation of the Governor. The judges of the Superior Court were appointed by the Governor and Council; and the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, and Judges were paid by annual grants from the General Court. In ordinary times the Council had always been more friendly to the Executive administration, and less disposed to resist the transatlantic authority than the House; but as the contest with the mother country grew warmer, and the country party in the House stronger, they dropped in their elections to the Council all the partizans of the Court, and elected none but the most determined patriots to the council board. The only resource of the Governor was to disapprove the most obnoxious of the persons elected, and thus to exclude a few of the most prominent leaders; but in their places the House always elected others of the same principles.

Among the devices to which, at the instigation of Hutchinson himself, the British Government resorted to remedy these disorders, was that of vacating the charter of the colony; of reserving to the King in council the appointment of the councillors, and of paying by Parliamentary authority the Governor and Judges, himself. The drift of these changes could not be mistaken. Hutchinson, who affected the character of a profound constitutional lawyer, entered into long and elaborate discussion of the rights and authority of Parliament in messages to the General Court, which were answered separately by re-

ports of committees in both Houses. In the composition of these papers Mr. Adams was frequently employed, together with his distinguished relative, Samuel Adams. For the discussion of profound constitutional questions, the education of John Adams as a lawyer, had pre-eminently qualified him to cope with Hutchinson in his black letter messages; and for the arguments on chartered rights and statutory law, he was relied upon beyond all others.

In 1772, having removed to his primitive residence at Braintree, he ceased to represent the town of Boston in the Legislature; but he was soon after elected to the council, and negatived by the Governor. In 1774 he was elected one of the members from the colony of Massachusetts Bay to the Continental Congress; and on the first meeting of that body, on the 5th of September of that year, took his seat among the founders of the North American Union. His service in Congress continued until November, 1777, when he was chosen by that body, in the place of Silas Deane, a joint commissioner at the Court of France, with Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee.

He embarked for France on the 13th of February, 1778, in the Boston frigate, commanded by Samuel Tucker; and, after a most tempestuous passage of forty-five days, landed at Bordeaux in France. The recognition by France of the Independence of the United States, and the conclusion of the treaties of commerce and of alliance between the two nations, had taken place between the appointment of Mr. Adams and his arrival at Paris.

After the ratification of those treaties, Congress thought proper to substitute a single minister plenipotentiary at the court of France.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin was appointed the minister. Arthur Lee had previously received a separate commission as minister to the Court of Spain. Mr. Adams, without waiting for a letter of recall, returned in the summer of 1779, in the French frigate La Sensible, to the United States. The French minister to the United States, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, together with his secretary of legation, since highly distinguished through all the scenes of the French Revolution, Barbe de Marbois, were passengers in the same frigate. They arrived at Boston on the 2d of August, 1779. Precisely at that time the convention which formed the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was about to assemble, and Mr. Adams was returned to it as a member from the town of Braintree.

The convention assembled at Cambridge on the 1st of September, 1779, and, after appointing a committee of thirty-one members to prepare a declaration of rights, and a constitution for the Commonwealth,

adjourned over, on the 7th of that month, to the 28th of October ensuing, to receive the report of the committee. Mr. Adams was a member of this committee, and made the first draught of the declaration of rights and of the constitution reported to the convention.

But, in the interval of the adjournment, Mr. Adams had received from Congress a new commission for the negotiation of peace with Great Britain; in pursuance of which he embarked on the 14th of November, at Boston, in the same French frigate in which he had returned to the United States. Her destination was Brest; but having sprung a leak on her passage, and being in danger of foundering, she was obliged to make the first European port, which was that of Ferrol in Spain. There she arrived on the 7th of December, and thence Mr. Adams travelled, in mid-winter, by land to Paris.

The events of the Revolutionary war were not yet sufficiently matured for the negotiation of peace. Soon after the appointment of Mr. Adams to this service, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, then President of Congress, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the United Netherlands, with a separate commission to negotiate a loan of money in that country. On his passage to Europe, Mr. Laurens was captured by a British cruizer, and was lodged in the tower of London as a prisoner of state. Mr. Adams then received a commission for the same service, and a new appointment was made of five commissioners for the negotiation of peace. These were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson; the last of whom was, however, prevented by the circumstances of his family from proceeding to Europe until after the conclusion of the peace. In July, 1780, Mr. Adams left Paris and went to Holland, where, as a preliminary to the negotiation of a treaty of amity and commerce, it was necessary to procure the recognition of the United States as an independent power. The negotiation for a loan was a separate power to contract with individuals. In both these negotiations Mr. Adams was eminently successful. The condition of the United Netherlands at that time required a different mode of negotiation from that which was suitable with the other nations of Continental Europe. They constituted a free, confederated republic; with a prince allied to many of the European sovereigns, and especially to the Kings of Great Britain and of Prussia, at their head. The politics of the country were discussed in the Legislative Assemblies of the several provinces, and the freedom of the press opened avenues to the hearts of the people. In point of form, Mr. Adams, as the representative of the United States claiming to be a sove-

reign and independent power, was to address the President of the States General, which he did in a memorial claiming to be received as a public minister; but setting forth all the arguments suited to produce an impression upon the minds of the people favorable to the objects of his mission. The President of the States General received the memorial, and laid it before the Assembly, who referred it to the Legislative Assemblies of the several provinces for consideration; MR. ADAMS caused it forthwith to be published in the English, French, and Dutch languages in pamphlets; and it was re-published in many of the newspapers and other periodical journals of the country. No public document of the revolution was ever so widely circulated; for, as an extraordinary state paper, it was re-published in every country and every language of Europe. Its success was not less remarkable than the extent of its circulation. It set in motion the whole population of the Netherlands. Popular petitions, numerously signed, poured in upon the States of the provinces, praying for the recognition of the Independence of the United States, and the reception of MR. ADAMS as their minister. The similarity of the condition of the United States to that of the Netherlands in their struggle for Independence against Spain, strongly urged in the memorial, became a favorite topic for popular feeling in all the provincial Assemblies. The Leyden Gazette, edited by John Luzac, one of the most accomplished scholars of the age, and one of the purest republican spirits of any age or clime, was engaged with deep and fervid interest in the cause of America, stimulated, even to enthusiasm, by the personal friendship formed with the kindred spirit of JOHN ADAMS. Another Frenchman of great ability, and highly distinguished as the author of the best history extant, in the French language, of the United Provinces, A. M. Cerisier, at the instance of MR. ADAMS, commenced a weekly journal under the title of "the Politique Hollandais," devoted exclusively to the communication of correct intelligence from America, and to set forth the community of principles and of interests between the new and the old republic. Having formed an intimate acquaintance with an eminent lawyer at Amsterdam, named Calkoen, that gentleman, who was a member of a political and literary society which held private weekly meetings, addressed sundry queries to MR. ADAMS respecting the state of the war, the condition of the people in the United States, and their dispositions with regard to the cause of Independence; which he answered in twenty-six letters, since frequently published. They were read and discussed at the meetings of the society, and furnished facts and argument for the friends of America and of freedom to counteract the influence

and the misrepresentations of the English party or Anglomanes, always numerous and powerful in the United Netherlands. The armed neutrality of the north, and the insolent, domineering tone of Sir Joseph York, the British minister at the Hague, contributed to the excitement of the people in favor of the American cause; and after patiently waiting till the state of public opinion was sufficiently matured, Mr. Adams ventured upon a step, the boldness of which could only be justified by success. He addressed a note to the States General, which he delivered in person to their President, referring to the memorial which he had twelve months before presented; proposing a treaty of amity and commerce between the two nations, and demanding a categorical answer which he might transmit to his sovereign.

With this demand the States General of the United Netherlands promptly complied. The Independence of the United States was formally recognized by the reception of Mr. Adams as their minister. A commission, consisting of one member from each of the Provinces, was appointed to treat with him; and with them he concluded the treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce of 8th October, 1782; still recognized at this day by the United States, and by the present king of Holland, as the law of commercial intercourse between the two nations.

While conducting this political negotiation, Mr. Adams had also contracted with three banking houses at Amsterdam, a loan of five millions of florins, at a yearly interest of five per cent.; furnishing, at a critical period of the war, a most seasonable supply to the exhausted treasury of the United States.

The day after the conclusion of the commercial treaty, and of a convention concerning maritime prizes of the same date, Mr. Adams proceeded to Paris, where the negotiation for peace with Great Britain had already been commenced between his colleagues, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay; first with certain informal agents appointed by the British Government, and afterwards with Richard Oswald, formerly commissioned by George the Third to treat for peace with the commissioners of the United States of America. This negotiation terminated in the preliminary articles of peace of 30th November, 1782; succeeded by the definitive treaty also concluded at Paris on the 3rd of September, 1783.

The responsibilities of public men in stations of high dignity and trust in ordinary and prosperous times, are sufficiently arduous for the trial of the tempers of men; but the labors, the anxieties, the perturbations of mind incident to the condition of a man charged with the duty of maintaining, in a desperate conflict with oppressive power, not only

his own character and honor, but the existence of his country, can scarcely be conceivable to an American of the present age. They stagger the firmness of the most intrepid soul. They prey upon a bodily frame hardy as the Nemæan lion's nerve. Blessed with an excellent natural constitution, Mr. Adams had in early youth ever plied it with intense study and indefatigable professional labor; from the time that he had become engaged in the service of his country, his days and nights had been devoted to the performance of his duties. In the midst of his negotiations in Holland he was brought within a hair's breadth of the grave by a typhus fever, in the summer of 1781, at Amsterdam; and a few days after the signature of the definitive treaty of peace, he was taken with a slow nervous fever, which again brought him to death's door. To promote his recovery, he was advised by his physician to indulge himself in a temporary relaxation from public business; and in October, 1783, he made his first visit to England, where, though in a private capacity, upon the meeting of Parliament, he heard the lips of George the Third on his throne, announce to his people, that he had concluded a definitive treaty of peace with the *United States of America.*

In January, 1784, he was suddenly called back to his post, in Holland, to negotiate a new loan of two millions of florins, which had become necessary for the punctual payment of the interest upon that which had been previously contracted, and which he effected upon terms equally advantageous. On his return to the Hague, he held conferences with the Baron de Thulemeyer, the minister of the great Frederic of Prussia, commissioned by him to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States. While engaged in this discussion, Congress had appointed John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, commissioners to negotiate treaties of commerce with any of the European powers, or of the Barbary States, which might be inclined to form such engagements.

The commission met at Paris, in August, 1794, and communicated, through the ministers of the several powers of Europe, their powers to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce. But under this commission, the treaty which had been already nearly concluded by Mr. Adams and the Baron de Thulemeyer was the only one accomplished in Europe. In the spring of 1785, Doctor Franklin, at the age of nearly four-score, and laboring under the painful disease which finally closed his illustrious life, returned to the United States. Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor at the Court of France, and Mr. Adams received a commission as the first minister plenipotentiary of the United

States at the Court of the British king. They still remained jointly charged with the commission for negotiating treaties of commerce, under which was concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco, and a commercial treaty with Portugal; the ratification of which by the Portuguese Government was withheld, under the controling influence of Great Britain at that Court.

In May, 1785, Mr. Adams proceeded to London, where he was received by George the Third as the minister of the Independent States of North America. He was authorized to form a commercial treaty with Great Britain of the most liberal character; but a proud and mortified spirit had succeeded in the breast of the monarch, and a resentful and jealous rivalry in the temper of the nation, to the cruel and desolating war, which for seven years had been waged to subdue the North American people. In that people, too, an irritated and resentful temper still rankled long after the conflict for independence had closed. Mutual charges of bad faith in failing to execute the articles of the treaty of peace, but two well founded on both sides, continued the alienation of heart between the nations, which the contest and the separation had caused. The British Government had, indeed, more than plausible reasons for declining to conclude a commercial treaty with a Congress, which had not even authority to carry into execution the stipulations of the treaty of peace. After a residence in England of three years, in June, 1778, Mr. Adams returned to the United States, precisely at the moment when the ratification, by nine States, of the constitution, had established the form of government for the Union, under which we yet live.

During his residence in England he had composed and published, in three volumes, his Defence of the Constitutions of the United States, —a treatise upon Goverment, afterwards called the History of the principal Republics of the World; a work which has contributed more than any other ever written, to settle the opinions of mankind upon the great question, whether the legislative power of a free state should be vested in a single assembly, or in two separate co-ordinate branches; incidental to which is the question, not less important, of a single or a plural executive. Upon these points there is now scarcely any diversity of opinion among the enlightened theorists of Government.

Just before his return to the United States, Mr. Adams had been elected, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, a member of Congress, under the articles of Confederation; but that body was in a virtual state of dissolution. The constitution of the United States had received the sanction of the people. The times and places for holding the

elections to organize the new government, had been fixed and the semblance of authority, which was all that the Confederation Congress had ever possessed, was vanishing even before the fabric of its more efficient substitute was completed.

In December, 1788, the first elections were held for carrying into execution the Constitution of the United States; at which George Washington was unanimously chosen President, and JOHN ADAMS was elected Vice-President of the Union; and four years afterwards they were both, in like manner, re-elected to the same offices. At the close of the second term, Washington declined a second re-election, and MR. ADAMS was chosen President of the United States.

During the eight years of Washington's administration, MR. ADAMS presided in the Senate. Throughout the whole of both those terms he gave to the administration a firm and efficient support.

Wherever there is Government, there must be councils of administration and collisions of opinion, concerning its mode and its measures. In all governments, therefore, there are parties which necessarily become braided, and, too often, entangled with the personal characters, principles, passions, and fortunes of individual men. No sooner had the founder of the Christian faith laid the corner-stone, for the establishment of the purest and most self-sacrificing of all religions, by the selection of the twelve apostles, than ambition and avarice, the thirst of place and treachery, were disclosed among them.

The Constitution of the United States was the result of a compromise between parties, which had existed from the first formation of the American Union. It drew together, by closer ties, the inhabitants of an extensive country, chiefly descended from one common stock, but greatly diversified by the varieties of climates, and of soils on which they had settled, and the oppositions of religious and political opinions in which they had originated. It made them permanently, and by political organization, what the enthusiasm of a common struggle for freedom, common sufferings and common dangers had made them for a time, in the war of Independence, but which the imbecility of the Articles of Confederation had failed to sustain, it made them *One People.* This stupendous monument of wisdom and virtue was accomplished by a party—then known by the denomination of *Federalists;* a name which, from various causes, has since become a term of reproach, but which, at that time, Washington and Madison were alike proud of bearing. In the disjointed condition of the confederacy, there was but one man whose talents and services had rivetted him in the gratitude and affections of all his countrymen, and that was, the

leader of the armies of the Revolution. He presided in the convention which formed the Constitution; and no one can analyse that instrument without perceiving that much of its character, and expecially the construction of its executive power, was adapted to *him*, and fashioned upon the preconception that the office would be occupied by him.

Nor was this anticipation disappointed. He was twice elected by the unanimous suffrages of the electoral colleges President of the United States. But he was scarcely installed in office, and the wheels of the new machine of government had scarcely began to move, when the spirit of party, transferred from the confederacy to the constitution, sought, in the principal subordinate officers of the government, leaders for the succession, to be thereafter seated in the chair of Washington. These leaders immediately presented themselves in the persons of Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. In the diversity of the principles of these two men, conflict immediately sprung up, as to those which should govern the administration. Those of Hamilton were more congenial to the mind of Washington, and became the ruling principles of the administration; upon which Jefferson retired from public office, and was thenceforward looked up to as the head of the opposition to Washington's administration. Before the close of Washington's second term, Hamilton had also retired, but continued to support his administration.

At the time when Mr. Adams was chosen President of the United States, he was supported by the party which had sustained the administration. Jefferson was his competitor, as the leader of the opposition. The contest was close. Mr. Adams was elected by a bare majority of the electoral votes; and by the provision of the constitution then existing, that both candidates should be voted for as President, and that the person having the highest number of votes short of a majority should be Vice-President, Mr. Jefferson was elected to that office; and thus the head of the opposition became the presiding officer in the Senate of the United States, and at the next election, in December, 1800, was chosen President of the United States.

On the 3d of March, 1801, the official term of Mr. Adams expired, and he retired to his residence at Quincy, where he passed the remainder of his days.

The administration of Mr. Adams was but a continuation of that of his predecessor. It was the practical execution of the constitution, by the party which had formed and fashioned it, and had succeeded against a determined and persevering opposition in procuring its acceptance by the people. Mr. Jefferson had availed himself of the

passions and prejudices of the people to obtain the possession of power, constantly modifying his opposition according to the fluctuations of public opinion, and taking advantage of every error, in the policy of the federal party, to which an odious imputation could be applied. In the course of their common service in Congress during the War of Independence, and in that of the joint commission in Europe after the peace, the most cordial harmony had subsisted between him and Mr. Adams. Their views of the French Revolution first divided them; and upon a re-publication in this country of one of Thomas Paine's revolutionary pamphlets, Mr. Jefferson, in a note to the printer, recommended it as a corrective to the *political heresies* then in circulation. The allusion was universally understood as intended to apply to the publication of certain essays, under the title of Discourses on Davila, and known to be written by Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Adams, disclaimed all such intention; but his subsequent deportment, and the essential diversity of their opinions, gradually alienated them from each other, and dissolved the personal friendship which had subsisted between them. During the administration of Mr. Jefferson there was no personal intercourse between them; but when the great questions of the rights of neutral commerce, and the outrageous impressment of American seamen by the naval officers of Great Britain, brought the Government of the United States into imminent danger, Mr. Adams, though remaining in private life, sacrificed all his resentments and by numerous writings in the public journals, gave the most efficient support to the administration of his successor.

In 1809 Mr. Jefferson himself was succeeded by his friend and most faithful counsellor, James Madison. During his administration, the controversies with Great Britain, in the midst of which Mr. Jefferson had retired, rankled into a war, precisely at the time when the tide of victory and of triumph was turning in favor of Britain, against Napoleon, at the closing stage of that revolution by which France had passed from an absolute monarchy, through a brutal and sanguinary mock-democracy, to a military despotism, and thence to the transient resurrection of the dry bones of the Bourbons.

In the contests with Great Britain concerning neutral rights and impressment, which had preceded and led to the war, the interests of the commercial portion of the community were most immediately and deeply involved. But Mr. Jefferson's system of defence consisted in commercial restrictions, non-intercourse and embargoes, destructive to the very interest which it was the duty of the Government to maintain. The Cæsarian ambition of Napoleon, and his unparalleled suc-

cession of military triumphs, had alarmed the American politicians of the federal school, till they had frightened themselves into the belief that Napoleon Bonaparte was affecting universal empire, and about to become master of the world. They believed also, that Great Britain presented the only obstacle to the accomplishment of this design; and in this panic-terror, they lost all sense of the injustice and insolence of Great Britain exercised upon themselves. The restrictive system bore most impressively upon New England, to whose people, commerce, navigation, and the fisheries, were necessaries of life; and they felt the restrictive system as aggravation rather than relief. When the war came, it was a total annihilation of all their modes of industry, and of their principal resources of subsistence. They transferred their resentments from the foreign aggressor to their own Government, and became disaffected to the Union itself. The party in opposition to Mr. Madison's Administration prevailed throughout all the New England States; and had the war continued one year longer, there is little doubt that the floating projects of a separation, and of a northern confederacy, would have ripened into decisive action. Throughout the whole of this ordeal, Mr. Adams constantly supported the Administration of Mr. Madison, till the conclusion of the peace at Ghent, in December, 1814, scattered the projects of the northern confederacy to the winds, and restored, for a short and happy interval, *the era of good feelings.*

In December, 1820, Mr. Adams was chosen one of the electors of President and Vice-President of the United States; and, together with all his colleagues of the electoral College of Massachusetts, voted for the re-election of James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins to those offices.

The last public service in which Mr. Adams was engaged, was as a member of the convention to revise the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, of which body he was unanimously chosen President. Then in the 86th year of his age, he declined to assume the arduous duties of that station, but gave his attendance as a member throughout the sessions of the convention, and occasionally took part in their debates.

This election was communicated to Mr. Adams by a Committee of the Convention, with the following resolutions:—

"In Convention, November 15, 1820.

"Whereas, the Honorable John Adams, a member of this Convention, and elected the President thereof, has, for more than half a

century, devoted the great powers of his mind, and his profound wisdom and learning, to the service of his country and mankind :

In fearlessly vindicating the rights of the North American provinces against the usurpations and encroachments of the superintendant government :

In diffusing a knowledge of the principles of civil liberty among nis fellow subjects, and exciting them to a firm and resolute defence of the privileges of freemen :

In early conceiving, asserting, and maintaining the justice and practicability of establishing the independence of the United States of America :

In giving the powerful aid of his political knowledge in the formation of the Constitution of his native State, which constitution became in a great measure the model of those which were subsequently formed :

In conciliating the favor of foreign powers, and obtaining their countenance and support in the arduous struggle for independence :

In negotiating the treaty of peace, which secured forever the sovereignty of the United States, and in defeating all attempts to prevent it ; and especially in preserving in that treaty the vital interest of the New England States :

In demonstrating to the world, in his defence of the Constitutions of the several united States, the contested principle, since admitted as an axiom, that checks and balances in legislative power, are essential to true liberty :

In devoting his time and talents to the service of the nation, in the high and important trusts of Vice-President and President of the United States :

And lastly, in passing an honorable old age in dignified retirement, in the practice of all the domestic virtues, thus exhibiting to his countrymen and to posterity, an example of true greatness of mind and of genuine patriotism :—

Therefore, Resolved, That the members of this convention, representing the people of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, do joyfully avail themselves of this opportunity to testify their respect and gratitude to this eminent patriot and statesman, for the great services rendered by him to his country, and their high gratification that, at this late period of life, he is permitted by Divine Providence to assist them with his counsel in revising the constitution which, forty years ago, his wisdom and prudence assisted to form.

Resolved, That a committee of twelve be appointed by the chair, to

communicate this proceeding to the honorable JOHN ADAMS, to inform him of his election to preside in this body, and to introduce him to the chair of this convention.

In this resolution, honorable alike to the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to their representatives by whom it was adopted, and to him whom it intended to honor, is contained a concentrated summary of the life, character, and services of JOHN ADAMS. It closes with appropriate dignity his career as a public man.

Nor was he less exemplary in all the relations of private and domestic life. As a son, a husband, a brother, a father, and a friend, his affections were ardent, disinterested and faithful. His filial piety not exclusively confined to his immediate parents, carefully preserved the memorials of their ancestors, for three preceding generations, to the patriarch, first settler of Braintree, Henry Adams, and he caused to be erected in the cemetery, where

> "Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
> The rude fore-fathers of the hamlet sleep,"

monuments of the solid and simple granite from the soil on which they had settled, recording their names and years, spelt by no unlettered muse, but embracing in the inscription of little more than those dates, all that remains of their short and simple annals.

In the common experience of mankind, friendship, the pleasures of which are among the choicest enjoyments of life, is yet a sentiment of so delicate a texture, that it almost invariably sinks under the collision of adverse interests and conflicting opinions. With contests of opinion untainted with opposing interests, friendship may indeed subsist unimpaired; but in the discussion of religious or political opinions, which divide the minds of men, interest and opinion act and re-act upon each other, till the tender bloom of friendship withers and dies under their chilling frost. So fared it with the friendship formed by MR. ADAMS in early life with Jonathan Sewall. So fared it with the friendship formed in a common service, in the trying scenes of the war of Independence, with Thomas Jefferson. An affecting passage in his diary in 1774, records the pang with which he had parted from the friend of his youth, and an intercourse of mutual respect ,and good-will was restored between them after the close of the revolutionary war. A reconciliation with Mr. Jefferson was, by the interposition of a common friend, effected, after all collisions of interests had subsided; and for the last ten years of their lives a friendly and frequent correspondence was maintained, with mutual satisfaction, between them. Many of those

letters have been published, equally creditable to both ; and that of Mr. Jefferson upon the decease of Mrs. Adams, in October, 1818, as an effusion of sympathy with the severest of earthly afflictions, in the administration of tender and delicate condolence, has never been surpassed.

They died on one and the same day, the jubilee of the day of Independence—a coincidence so remarkable, that men of a religious turn of mind, in days of more devoted faith, would have regarded it as a special interposition of Providence, to stamp on the hearts of their country, and of unnumbered future ages, a more indelible remembrance of that memorable event, and of the share which they had jointly taken in its imperishable deed.

The death of JOHN ADAMS occurred on the 4th of July, 1826, at the moment when his fellow-citizens, of his native town of Quincy, were celebrating in a social banquet, to which he had been invited, the anniversary of the Nation's Independence. His physical faculties had gradually declined in the lapse of years, leaving his intellect clear and bright to the last hour of his life.

Some years before his decease he had, by two several deeds of gift, conveyed to the inhabitants of the town of Quincy, his library and several valuable lots of land, the proceeds of the income of which were to be devoted to the erection of a stone temple for the worship of God, and of a school-house for a classical school.

Shortly after his death, the worshippers at the first Congregational church in Quincy, of which he had been a member, determined, with the aid of his donation to erect the temple, which was done in the year 1828 ; and after it was completed, his mortal remains, with those of the partner of his life, were deposited side by side in a vault beneath its walls.

Within the same house, a plain, white marble slab, on the right hand of the pulpit, surmounted by his bust, (the work of Horatio Greenough,) bears the following inscription, written by his eldest son.

Libertatem, Amicitiam, Fidem, Retinebis.

D. O. M.

Beneath these walls
Are deposited the mortal remains of
JOHN ADAMS,
Son of John and Susanna (Boylston) Adams,
Second President of the United States.
Born $\frac{19}{30}$ October, 1735.

On the fourth of July, 1776,
He pledged his Life, Fortune, and sacred Honour
To the INDEPENDENCE OF HIS COUNTRY.
On the third of September, 1783,
He affixed his seal to the definitive treaty with Great Britain,
Which acknowledged that independence,
And consummated the redemption of his pledge.
On the fourth of July, 1826,
He was summoned
To the Independence of Immortality
And to the JUDGMENT OF HIS GOD.
This House will bear witness to his piety;
This Town, his birth-place, to his munificence;
History to his patriotism;
Posterity to the depth and compass of his mind.
At his side
Sleeps, till the trump shall sound,
ABIGAIL,
His beloved and only wife,
Daughter of William and Elizabeth (Quincy) Smith.
In every relation of life a pattern
Of filial, conjugal, maternal, and social virtue.
Born November $\frac{11}{22}$, 1744,
Deceased 28 October, 1818,
Aged 74.

Married 25 October, 1764.
During an union of more than half a century
They survived, in harmony of sentiment, principle and affection,
The tempests of civil commotion:
Meeting undaunted and surmounting
The terrors and trials of that revolution,
Which secured the freedom of their country;
Improved the condition of their times;
And brightened the prospects of futurity
To the race of man upon earth.

PILGRIM,

From lives thus spent thy earthly duties learn;
From fancy's dreams to active virtue turn:
Let freedom, friendship, faith, thy soul engage,
And serve, like them, thy country and thy age. J. Q. A.

Painted by G. Stuart Engraved by J.F. Storm

A Adams

MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS.

Mrs. Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, second President of the United States, was one of three daughters of William Smith, minister of a Congregational church at Weymouth in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and of Elizabeth Quincy, a daughter of Colonel John Quincy, the proprietor of Mount Wollaston. This spot, situated on the sea-shore in the Bay of Boston, about seven miles south-east of that city, was the seat of a settlement by Thomas Wollaston and thirty of his associates in 1625, five years before that of the Massachusetts Colony. Wollaston abandoned his settlement the next year, and left part of his men under the command of Thomas Morton. The settlement itself was broken up by Governor Winthrop in the Summer of 1630, shortly after the landing of his Colony. Mount Wollaston was in 1634 made part of Boston, and the land was granted to William Coddington. He soon after sold it to William Ting, one of the principal merchants of Boston, and one of the four first representatives of the town in the General Court. Ting had four daughters, between whom, after his decease, his inheritance was divided. One of those daughters married Thomas Shepard, the celebrated minister of Charlestown; and in the distribution of the estates, the farm at Mount Wollaston was assigned to her. Her daughter, Anna, married Daniel Quincy, son of the second Edmund Quincy, and was the mother of Colonel John Quincy. Mrs. Anna Shepard survived her son-in-law, and at her decease bequeathed the estate at Mount Wollaston to his son John Quincy, then a student at Harvard College. In 1716 he married Elizabeth Norton, daughter of John Norton, minister of the first Congregational church at Hingham, a town distant about six miles south-east of Mount Wollaston. Elizabeth Quincy was the eldest daughter of this marriage, and in 1742 became the wife of William Smith.

Abigail Smith, second daughter of William and Elizabeth Smith, was born on the $\frac{11}{22}$ of November, the day dedicated in the Roman

calendar to Saint Cecilia, 1774. Her father, grandfather, and great grandfather, had all been educated at Harvard College. The Shepards and the Nortons are commemorated among the most learned and talented of the clergymen who held so conspicuous a place in the primitive settlement of New England. Thomas Shepard, the father of him who married Anna Ting, is known from the Magnalia of Cotton Mather as one of the shining lights of the Reformation. His son was scarcely less distinguished, but died in the prime of life. That they are yet held in affectionate remembrance, is in evidence from the very recent fact, that a church adhering to the primitive Puritan doctrines, at Cambridge, has assumed and bears their name. John Norton, the minister of Hingham, was a nephew of his namesake, illustrious in the history of the Massachusetts Colony, and was himself many years eminent among the pastoral teachers of his age and country. The maternal grandfather of Abigail Smith, John Quincy, had been graduated at Harvard College in 1708. Her father, William Smith, in 1725. From this line of ancestry, it may justly be inferred that the family associations of Abigail Smith were from her infancy among those whose habits, feelings, and tastes are marked by the love and cultivation of literature and learning. The only learned profession in the first century of the settlement of New England was that of the clergy. The law formed no distinct profession, and the lawyers were little esteemed. Science was scarcely better cultivated by the practitioners of the medical art; but religion was esteemed among the most important of worldly concerns, and the controversial spirit with which it was taught, and which was at once the cause and effect of the Protestant reformation, stimulated the thirst for learning, and sharpened the appetite for the studies by which it is acquired.

The importance of learning and of literature to the cause of religion, and the entire dependence of practical morals upon religious principle, were so well understood by the first founders of New England, that the settlers of the Massachusetts Colony had scarcely thrown up sheds and piled log-houses to shelter their bodies from the storm, before their thoughts turned to the erection of the edifice which should serve them and their children for the habitation of the mind. In 1634 they made an appropriation for a school at Newtown, and in 1638 John Harvard, himself one of the most distinguished of their ministers, bequeathed at his decease the sum of £779. 17*s*. 2*d*. for the establishment of a college for the education of ministers of the Gospel. The bequest was immediately carried into effect. In 1642 the first

class was graduated—the town where the college was situated received the name of Cambridge from that in England, where all the religious teachers of the Colony had been educated; and the College of Harvard, made by the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts an university, bears the name of its founder in glory from age to age down to the extinction of time.

But in providing for the education of learned ministers of the Gospel, the Puritan fathers of New England were not equally solicitous to cultivate and adorn the minds of their *daughters*. The education of women was not neglected, but was generally confined to the concerns of the household. The women, indeed, mingled in the religious controversies of the first Colonial age, more perhaps than was conducive to their own happiness or to the tranquillity of their relatives; but the example and the fate of Mrs. Hutchinson and of her doctrines, appears to have operated rather as a warning than as an example to the women of the succeeding age. For the *practice* of the learned professions, women are by their sex as effectually unfitted as for fighting battles, holding the plough, felling the forest, or navigating the ocean.

The education of the daughters of Mr. Smith was in their father's house, with such advantages as a country clergyman in a village of New England, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, could afford. It was about that time that Goldsmith, in his Deserted Village, and in his Vicar of Wakefield, painted to the life that condition in human society, and that class of characters formed by it, of which Mr. Smith and his family might have served as the originals.

On the 25th of October, 1764, in the twentieth year of her age, Miss Abigail Smith was married to John Adams, then an attorney at law residing in Braintree, the town adjoining to Weymouth, and then rising to great eminence at the bar. He had until then devoted himself, with the most indefatigable industry, to the studies and the practice of his profession for about seven years, taking little part in the politics of the time. The subject of politics, in its most comprehensive sense, had, however, furnished a source of profound meditation to his mind for many years before that of his marriage. His letter of —— September, 1755, from Worcester to Nathan Webb, has been called a literary phenomenon. A shorter and far more carelessly written letter, in December 1761, is perhaps not less characteristic.

In November 1762, Miss Smith's elder sister, Mary, had been married to Richard Cranch, a native of Devonshire in England, who had

emigrated to this country in early youth, and was then settled at Germantown, part of the town of Braintree. In December 1761, Mr. Adams was upon a visit to Mr. Cranch at his house in Germantown; Mr. Cranch having an opportunity to enclose a letter which he had received the day before for Miss Mary Smith, put it under a cover thus addressed:—

"*Miss Polly Smith, Weymouth.*

"*Germantown, Dec. 30th.* 1761

"DEAR MISS POLLY,

"I was at Boston yesterday, and saw your brother, who was well. I have but a moment's notice of an opportunity of sending to you the enclosed, which I took at your uncle Edward's.

"I am, with compliments to your family,

"Your affectionate humble servant,

"R. CRANCH."

Under which Mr. Adams wrote as follows:—

"DEAR DITTO,

"Here we are, Dick and Jack, as happy as the wickedness and folly of this world will allow philosophers. Our good wishes are poured forth for the felicity of you, your family, and neighbors. My—I don't know what—to Miss Nabby; tell her I hear she's about commencing a most loyal subject to young George, and although my allegiance has been hitherto inviolate, I shall endeavor all in my power to foment rebellion.

"J. ADAMS."

To account for the preservation of this cover of a letter, not by the lady to whom it was addressed, but by her younger sister, then the loyal subject of young George, it may be necessary to remember that she was then just turned of seventeen; that it was shortly after the accession of George the Third to the throne; and that nearly three years after, on the 25th of October, 1764, she married the instigator to rebellion.

The year 1765 is memorable in the history of the world, and especially in that of the United States and that of Great Britain, as the year in which the British Parliament enacted the Stamp Act. Until that time Mr. Adams had taken little part in political affairs: his whole soul had been absorbed in the study and practice of his pro-

fession. But from the period of the Stamp Act he devoted himself to the cause of his country. In August of that year, in the midst of the violent fermentation occasioned by the resistance of the people to the execution of the Stamp Act, he published, in a Boston newspaper, the Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law, in which the right of popular resistance against oppression is laid down as distinctly as in the Declaration of Independence, and almost in the same terms. The right and the determination of resistance was formed in the mind of John Adams from the first appearance of the Stamp Act, and his partner imbibed his principles, and prepared herself for all the trials and sacrifices which it was apparent must in such a contest be required of her. For ten years after their marriage Mr. Adams continued with increasing reputation in the practice of the law, residing alternately in the mansion descended to him from his father, and at Boston. In September, 1774, Mr. Adams was called to attend the meeting of the first Congress at Philadelphia. That session was short; but from the meeting of the second session in May, 1775, it was not again discontinued till the close of the war of the Revolution, and during the whole of that time she resided at Braintree, with a family of infant children, far from the partner of her heart, and exposed with her family, during a great part of the time, to continual dangers, scarcely less formidable than those which her husband, far distant from her, was on his part called to encounter.

The first deadly conflict of the war was in April 1775, at Lexington. The incident which gave occasion to it was the detachment of a body of troops from the British army at Boston, sent out to intercept John Hancock and Samuel Adams, then on their way to attend the meeting of this second Congress. John Adams was not with them, but had left his home for the same destination several days before. But his dwelling-house, his wife, and children, were within a shorter distance from Boston than Lexington or Concord; and the same spirit which had instigated the British commander to send a body of men to seize the persons of two members of the Continental Congress, might with a much smaller force have visited the dwelling-house, and destroyed or made prisoners of the family of the third. For several months this danger was so imminent, that the library, and all the most valuable furniture of the house, were removed to a distant part of the town; nor were they restored till after the British army had, in April 1776, evacuated Boston.

Soon after the close of this trial, aggravated by an epidemic dysentery, with which, in the Autumn of 1775, Mrs. Adams herself and

every member of her family were severely afflicted, and to which her own mother, a brother of her husband, and a young woman living with her, in the course of two or three weeks fell victims, it was succeeded by another scarcely less distressing. After the removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Yorktown, in November, 1777, Mr. Adams made a short visit to his family, and, while absent, was appointed a joint Commissioner at the Court of France, with Dr. Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee, in the place of Silas Deane, who was recalled. In February, 1778, he sailed from Nantasket Roads in the Boston frigate, Captain Samuel Tucker; taking with him his eldest son, then a boy in the eleventh year of his age. It was the most perilous period of the war for a passage across the Atlantic. The Boston was an old brigantine converted into a small frigate of 28 guns, far inferior in force and weight of metal to the sloops of war of our present navy. While she was preparing for sea in the harbor of Boston, there was a British squadron anchored at no greater distance than Newport, Rhode Island, watching her departure; well informed of her destination, advised of the fact that a member of Congress was going out in her as a passenger, and eager in coveting possession both of the passenger and the ship. France had not then acknowledged the Independence of the United States, nor was it certain what reception the ship or Commissioner would find in that country. Mrs. Adams would for herself have been prepared to encounter every hazard with the partner of her life; but to expose her with three infant children, the whole family at once, was too much to undertake. She remained at Braintree, with three of the children.

In February, 1778, France acknowledged the Independence of the United States, and the treaties of commerce and of eventual alliance were concluded. Congress soon after determined to have, instead of three Commissioners at the Court of France, only one Minister Plenipotentiary, and the choice fell upon Dr. Franklin. Mr. Lee had another commission as Minister to Spain. Mr. Adams was left without being recalled, but without appointment to any other mission. He returned to the United States in August, 1779; but it had not been the intention of Congress to dispense with his further services in Europe. Soon after his return he received a commission to negotiate a peace with Great Britain; and in November, 1779, embarked again for France, taking with him his two elder sons, John Quincy and Charles—Mrs. Adams again remained with the two other children, a daughter and the youngest son, till after the conclusion of the peace. This was followed by a joint commission to Mr. Adams, with

Dr Franklin and Mr. Jefferson, to negotiate treaties of commerce with any of the European or Barbary Powers; and to this succeeded the appointment of Mr. Adams as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain.

In May, 1784, Mrs. Adams embarked, with her only daughter, at Boston, to join her husband; she arrived at London in July. Mr. Adams was then at the Hague, in the discharge of the office of Minister Plenipotentiary to the United Netherlands, to which he had been appointed by Congress after the capture and imprisonment, in the tower of London, of Henry Laurens. About the same time of Mrs. Adams's arrival in England, Mr. Jefferson arrived in France, on the joint mission to negotiate commercial treaties, which negotiation was to be conducted at Paris. Mr. Adams, therefore, repaired to London to meet his family, and proceeded with them to Paris. They resided nearly a year at Auteuil, a village adjoining that of Passi, the residence of Doctor Franklin, until his final return to the United States, in 1785. He had, soon after the conclusion of the peace, requested of Congress permission to return, and to retire from the service of the Union. In the Spring of 1785 Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor at the Court of France, and Mr. Adams was commissioned as Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain. He proceeded with his family to London. There he resided three years, and in the Summer of 1788, at his own request, received permission to return home. He arrived at Boston precisely at the time when, by the ratification of nine States, the Constitution of the United States was received as the Supreme law of the land.

During her absence in Europe, Mrs. Adams had resided one year in France and three years in England. She had made several excursions of several days, to visit some of the beautiful scenes and magnificent country-seats which abound in England; and before her return had, in company with her husband, visited the scarcely less magnificent scenery of the Netherlands. In her own country she had, from her childhood, been accustomed to view and to admire the scenery between her native village and Boston, scarcely surpassed for natural beauty by any object upon earth. In France, in England, in Holland, she had seen the highest attainments of art and the most unbounded profusion of wealth lavished to improve and adorn the simple beauties of nature. In the inspection and enjoyment of these beauties she had taken great delight; and in familiar letters to her friends in this country had given descriptions of them, exceed-

ingly interesting to her correspondents, and which, even at this day, might be read with pleasure by the public.

Her letters to her husband and children, and to friends of her own sex, during the Revolutionary war, among which Mrs. Mercy Warren, sister of James Otis and wife of General James Warren of Plymouth, deserves to be particularly remembered, have an interest of a higher character. These ladies, familiar with the Roman history, and living in times when the exercise of the virtues of lofty patriotism were as necessary and as useful to the cause of liberty among the daughters of the land, as among their husbands and their brothers, corresponded with each other throughout the Revolutionary war—Mrs. Adams assuming the signature of *Portio*, and Mrs. Warren that of *Marcia;* and no correspondence of the Roman matrons bearing those names ever breathed a purer or more vivid spirit of patriotism. The letters of Mrs. Adams to her sons, while they were in Europe, were read and admired; and translations of more than one of them were made and published in some of the periodical journals of France.

The Government of the United States, under their present Constitution, was organized in April, 1789, and Mr. Adams was elected the first Vice President of the United States. He held that office during the eight years of President Washington's administration, and was elected his immediate successor. The sessions of the first Congress were held at the city of New York. In 1790 the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, and continued there till December, 1800, when it was transferred to Washington, in the District of Columbia. During the sessions of Congress Mr. Adams usually resided with his family at New York, and afterwards at Philadelphia; and in the intervals between them, on his estate at Quincy, about eight miles distant from Boston. Mrs. Adams's health, as she advanced in years, became frequently infirm; but, with the exception of one or two sessions, when she was detained at home by indisposition, she resided with her husband at the seat of government.

In the administration of the first President of the United States two parties immediately disclosed themselves. They were at first merely the successors of those between which the struggle had been maintained for and against the establishment of the Constitution of the United States. The contest between persons and property, between the many and the few, inherent in the vitals of human society, was always fermenting in the community. These elements of contention, always acting and reacting upon the course of human

events, and always modified by them, gave rise to two systems of administration, the leading minds of which were Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Washington endeavored to hold the balance between them; and Mr. Adams, in his station of Vice-President, gave his cordial and effective support to the general measures of his administration. The French Revolution breaking forth in the same year when the Constitution of the United States went into operation, and involving in its progress all the elements of contention incident to human society, produced a conflict of principles which not even the moderation, the spotless integrity, and the enduring fortitude of Washington himself could assuage. Jefferson and Hamilton both successively retired from the administration, but neither of them to quiet retirement. The spirit of party turned with a virulence, incredible at this day, against Washington himself; and upon his retirement, Mr. Adams was, by a bare majority of the electoral votes over Mr. Jefferson, chosen the successor to the Presidency, Mr. Jefferson himself being by the same election seated in the chair of the Vice-Presidency.

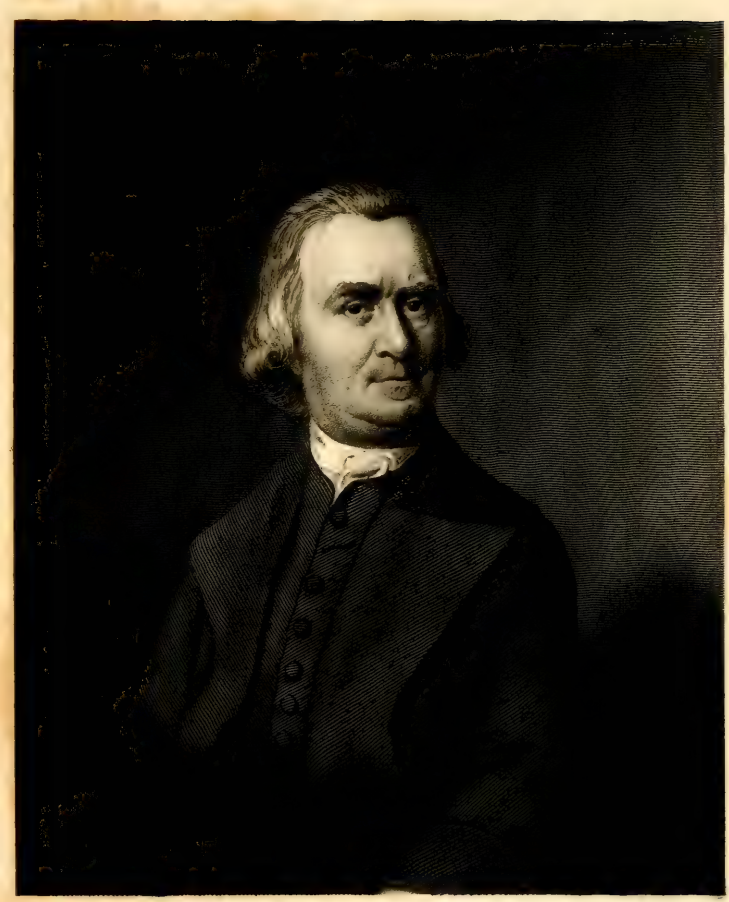
The party struggle continued during the administration of Mr. Adams; and the defection of Hamilton, with other leaders of the Federal party, turned the scale of the election of 1800. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were returned with an equal number and a majority of votes in the electoral colleges, and after a severe contest between them in the House of Representatives, Mr. Jefferson was elected President of the United States. Mr. Adams retired to private life, and spent the last twenty-five years of his life at his residence in Quincy, where, on the 4th of July 1826, he died.

Mr. Jefferson, in his Inaugural Address, alluded to the political intolerance which had marked the party conflicts of the preceding administrations, and urged his countrymen to *restore* harmony and affection to social intercourse. Of that intolerance, and of the bitter and rancorous imputations which are its most effective weapons, no man who had devoted his life to the service of his country ever endured more than Mr. Adams. From the day when he took his seat as President of the Senate, until that when his administration expired, he was assailed with unappeasable virulence; nor did it even cease with his retirement to private life. The exemplary deportment of Mrs. Adams towards persons of all parties during the twelve years of her husband's connexion with the government of the United States, disarmed even the demon of party spirit. She enjoyed universal esteem, as well for the endowments of her mind, as for the correctness of her deportment; and the only form in which personal male-

volence or party malignity could assume to turn her virtues into weapons of annoyance to her husband, was that of occasional insinuations that she exercised over him an uncontrolable influence, extended even to measures of public concernment; a slander not less unjust than all the others with which Mr. Adams was incessantly pursued.

During the remainder of her life Mrs. Adams shared the retirement of her husband, in the exercise of all the virtues that adorn and dignify the female, and the Christian character. As the mistress of a household, she united the prudence of a rigid economy with the generous spirit of a liberal hospitality; faithful and affectionate in her friendships, bountiful to the indigent, kind and courteous to her dependents, cheerful, good-humoured and charitable in the intercourse of social life with her neighbors and acquaintance. She lived in the habitual practice of benevolence, and of sincere, unaffected piety. In the year 1813 she was called to endure one of the severest afflictions that can befall the lot of humanity, the death of her only daughter, wife of Colonel William Stephens Smith of New York, after a long, lingering, and painful disease. She had before, at earlier periods of her life, lost one infant daughter and one son, Charles Adams, in the prime of life and the thirtieth year of his age.

Mrs. Adams herself died of a typhus fever on the 28th of October, 1818, at the age of seventy-four; leaving to the women of her country an example which, could it be universally followed, would restore to mankind the state of paradise before the fall. J. Q. A.



Engraved by J. F. Storm from a Drawing by J. B. Longacre after the Portrait by J. S. Copley

Sam[l] Adams

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Samuel Adams was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in September, 1722. His ancestors were amongst the early settlers of New England. The family has already been traced through its various branches, in the biographical sketch of President John Adams in this volume, and requires no further notice in this place. Samuel Adams was remarkable for steady application to his studies at the celebrated Latin school of Master Lovell. He entered Harvard university at an early age, and graduated in 1740, when he discussed the following question, "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." He maintained the affirmative in the presence of the king's governor and council; and thus evinced, at that early period, his attachment to the liberties of the people. About the same time he published a pamphlet, called "Englishmen's Rights," the expense of which he paid out of the small stipend allowed him by his father while he was a student.

It has been stated that he intended to have devoted himself to the gospel ministry, but that his father designed him for the bar; the intentions of both were overruled by his mother, and the course of life adopted was that of commerce, to which he was neither inclined nor fitted; and although he was placed under the charge of an eminent merchant, Mr. Thomas Cushing, he acquired little knowledge of business, nor was he able to support himself when he commenced business on his own account. The capital given to him by his father, by imprudent credits and other losses was soon consumed. His father died soon after, and as he was the eldest son, the care of the family and the management of the estate devolved upon him.

It may be seen that Mr. Adams took an interest in political subjects at an early period of life, both from the choice of his subject when he took his degree at Cambridge, and of his first pamphlet. Similar subjects occupied his attention afterwards. While yet a clerk to Mr.

Cushing, he formed a club, each member of which agreed to furnish a political essay for a newspaper called the Independent Advertiser. These essays brought the writers into notice, and they were dubbed, in derision, the "Whipping-post Club." During the administration of Governor Shirley, he was known as a political writer in opposition to the dangerous union of too much civil and military power in the hands of one man. His ingenuity, wit, and clear and cogent arguments, gained public confidence, and laid the foundation for that influence over his fellow-citizens, which made him afterwards a mark for the especial dislike of the royalists.

In 1763 the agent of Massachusetts in London transmitted intelligence that it was contemplated, by the ministry, to tax the colonies. This soon produced a great excitement. It was expected that Governor Bernard would immediately call the Massachusetts house of assembly together, and that such instructions would be sent to the agent as might have a tendency to prevent the contemplated proceedings; but to the surprise of the public, the governor took no notice of the subject.

In May, 1764, a new election was held of members of the assembly, and according to custom, written instructions were prepared by the people for their representatives. Mr. Adams was one of the five who were selected by the people of Boston on this occasion. The instructions were written by him, and were approved by the town. The document was published at the time in the Boston Gazette, and is said to be the first public document that denied the "supremacy of the British parliament, and their right to tax the colonies without their own consent."

It is well known that at this time a private club was formed in Boston for the purpose of deciding on the most proper measures to be taken at this important crisis. It was composed of the leading patriots of the day. It was the secret spring which set in motion the public body. Mr. Adams was one of that patriotic conclave, and went with all his heart into the measures determined on, to resist every infringement of the rights of the colonies. The Stamp Act was a flagrant violation of them; and to suffer it to be quitely carried into effect, would establish a precedent and encourage further proceedings. Mr. Adams was not averse to the manner in which the people evinced their determined opposition by destroying the stamp papers and office in Boston; but he highly disapproved the riots and disorders which followed, and personally aided the civil power in the suppression of them.

He was elected a member of the general assembly of Massachusetts in 1765, in the place of Oxenbridge Thatcher, deceased. He was soon after chosen clerk to the House, and acquired influence in the Legislature, in which he continued nearly ten years. He was frequently upon important committees, and was the soul that animated their most decisive resolutions. In 1767 he suggested a plan to counteract the operation of the act imposing duties. It was agreed to by the merchants, and nearly all of them in the province bound themselves, if the duties were not repealed, not to import any but certain enumerated articles after the 1st of January, 1769.

He was chairman of the committee appointed by the people of Boston to wait upon Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, and urge the withdrawal of the British troops from the town, after the fatal affray of the 5th of March, 1770. Mr. Adams, in a speech of some length, pressed the subject with great ability, and enumerated the fatal consequences which would ensue if the vote of the town was not immediately complied with. Hutchinson prevaricated, and denied that the troops were subject to his authority; but promised to direct the removal of the 29th regiment. Mr. Adams again rose. Filled with the magnitude of the subject, and irritated by the manner in which it had been treated by the Lieutenant-governor, he replied with indignation and boldness, "That it was well known that, acting as governor of the province, he was by its charter commander-in-chief of his Majesty's military and naval forces, and, as such, the troops were subject to his orders; and if he had the power to remove one regiment, he had the power to remove both; and nothing short of that would satisfy the people; and it was at his peril if the vote of the town was not immediately complied with; and if it be longer delayed, he alone must be answerable for the fatal consequences that would ensue." This produced a momentary silence. It was now dark, and the people were waiting for the report of their committee. After a short conference with Colonel Dalrymple, Hutchinson gave his consent to the removal of both regiments, which was accordingly effected the following day.

As early as 1766 Mr. Adams had been impressed with the importance of establishing committees of correspondence throughout the colonies; but the plan was not carried into operation until 1772, when it was first adopted by Massachusetts on his motion, at a public town meeting in Boston, and was soon after followed by all the provinces.

Every method had been tried to induce Mr. Adams to abandon the cause of his country, which he had supported with so much zeal, courage, and ability. Threats and caresses had proved equally un-

availing. Prior to this time there is no certain proof that any direct attempt was made upon his virtue and integrity, although a report had been publicly and freely circulated that it had been unsuccessfully tried by Governor Bernard. Hutchinson knew him too well to make the attempt. But Governor Gage was empowered to try the experiment. He sent to him a confidential and verbal message by Colonel Fenton, who waited upon MR. ADAMS, and after the customary salutations, he stated the object of his visit. He said, that an adjustment of the disputes which existed between England and the colonies, and a reconciliation, was very desirable as well as important to the interest of both. That he was authorized from Governor Gage to assure him, that he had been empowered to confer upon him such benefits as would be satisfactory, upon the condition that he would engage to cease in his opposition to the measures of government. He also observed, that it was the advice of Governor Gage to him, not to incur the further displeasure of his Majesty; that his conduct had been such as made him liable to the penalties of an act of Henry VIII. by which persons could be sent to England for trial of treason or misprision of treason, at the discretion of a governor of a province; but by changing his political course, he would not only receive great personal advantages, but would thereby make his peace with the king. MR. ADAMS listened with apparent interest to this recital. He asked Colonel Fenton if he would truly deliver his reply as it should be given. After some hesitation, he assented. MR. ADAMS required his word of honor, which he pledged.

Then rising from his chair, and assuming a determined manner, he replied, "I trust I have long since made MY PEACE WITH THE KING OF KINGS. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage, IT IS THE ADVICE OF SAMUEL ADAMS TO HIM no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

With a full sense of his own perilous situation, marked as an object of ministerial vengeance, laboring under pecuniary embarrassment, but fearless of personal consequences, he steadily pursued the great object of his soul,—the liberty of the people.

The time required bold and inflexible measures. Common distress required common counsel. The aspect was appalling to some of the most decided patriots of the day. The severity of punishment, which was inflicted on the people of Boston by the power of England, produced a melancholy sadness on the friends of American freedom. The Massachusetts house of assembly was then in session at Salem

A committee of that body was chosen to consider and report the state of the province. Mr. Adams, it is said, observed that some of the committee were for mild measures, which he judged no way suited to the present emergency. He conferred with Mr. Warren of Plymouth upon the necessity of sprited measures, and then said, "Do you keep the committee in play, and I will go and make a caucus by the time the evening arrives, and do you meet me." Mr. Adams secured a meeting of about five principal members of the house at the time specified, and repeated his endeavors for the second and third nights, when the number amounted to more than thirty. The friends of the administration knew nothing of the matter. The popular leaders took the sense of the members in a private way, and found that they would be able to carry their scheme by a sufficient majority. They had their whole plan completed, prepared their resolutions, and then determined to bring the business forward; but before they commenced, the door-keeper was ordered to let no person in, nor suffer any one to depart. The subjects for discussion were then introduced by Mr. Adams with his usual eloquence on such great occasions. He was chairman of the committee, and reported the resolutions for the appointment of delegates to a general congress to be convened at Philadelphia, to consult on the general safety of America. This report was received with surprise and astonishment by the administration party. Such was the apprehension of some, that they were apparently desirous to desert the question. The door-keeper seemed uneasy at his charge, and wavering with regard to the performance of the duty assigned to him. At this critical juncture, Mr. Adams relieved him by taking the key and keeping it himself. The resolutions were passed; five delegates, consisting of Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, John Adams, and James Bowdoin, were appointed, the expense was estimated, and funds were voted for the payment. Before the business was finally closed, a member made a plea of indisposition, and was allowed to leave the house. This person went directly to the Governor, and informed him of their high-handed proceedings. The Governor immediately sent his secretary to dissolve the assembly, who found the door locked. He demanded entrance; but was answered, that his desire could not be complied with until some important business, then before the house, was concluded. Finding every method to gain admission ineffectual, he read the order on the stairs for an immediate dissolution of the assembly. The order, however, was disregarded by the house. They continued their deliberations, passed all their intended measures, and then obeyed the mandate for dissolution.

After many unavailing efforts, both by threats and promises, to allure this inflexible patriot from his devotion to the sacred cause of independence, Governor Gage at length, on the 12th of June, 1775, issued that memorable proclamation, of which the following is an extract:—"In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last efforts within the bounds of my duty to spare the further effusion of blood, to offer, and I do hereby in his Majesty's name offer and promise, his most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, SAMUEL ADAMS and John Hancock, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." This was a diploma, conferring greater honors on the individuals than any other which was within the power of his Britannic majesty to bestow.

In a letter, dated April, 1776, at Philadelphia, while he was in congress, to Major Hawley of Massachusetts, he said, "I am perfectly satisfied of the necessity of a public and explicit declaration of independence. I cannot conceive what good reason can be assigned against it. Will it widen the breach? This would be a strange question after we have raised armies and fought battles with the British troops; set up an American navy, permitted the inhabitants of these colonies to fit out armed vessels to capture the ships, &c. belonging to any of the inhabitants of Great Britain; declaring them the enemies of the United Colonies, and torn into shivers their acts of trade, by allowing commerce, subject to regulations to be made by ourselves, with the people of all countries, except such as are subject to the British king. It cannot, surely, after all this, be imagined that we consider ourselves, or mean to be considered by others, in any other state than that of independence."

In another letter to James Warren, Esq. dated Baltimore, December 31, 1776, he said, "I assure you business has been done since we came to this place, more to my satisfaction than any or every thing done before, excepting the 'Declaration of Independence,' which should have been made immediately after the 19th of April, 1775."

Notwithstanding we had raised armies, built navies, fought battles, and had seen the public grievances still unredressed, yet the minds of many of the leading Whigs were not prepared for the great question of a final separation of the two countries till July 4, 1776.

The character of MR. ADAMS had become celebrated in foreign countries. In 1773 he had been chosen a member of the society of

the bill of rights in London; and in 1774 John Adams and Doctor Joseph Warren were elected on his nomination.

Our patriots, in their progress to independence, had successfully encountered many formidable obstacles; but in the year 1777 still greater difficulties arose, at the prospect of which some of the stoutest hearts began to falter. It was at this critical juncture, after Congress had resolved to adjourn from Philadelphia to Lancaster, that some of the leading members accidentally met in company with each other. A conversation in mutual confidence ensued. Mr. Adams, who was one of the number, was cheerful and undismayed at the aspect of affairs; while the countenances of his friends were strongly marked with the desponding feelings of their hearts. The conversation naturally turned upon the subject which most engaged their feelings. Each took occasion to express his opinions on the situation of the public cause, and all were gloomy and sad. Mr. Adams listened in silence till they had finished. He then said, "Gentlemen, your spirits appear to be heavily oppressed with our public calamities. I hope you do not despair of our final success?" It was answered, "That the chance was desperate." Mr. Adams replied, "If this be our language, it is so, indeed. If we wear long faces, they will become fashionable. The people take their tone from ours; and if we despair, can it be expected that they will continue their efforts in what we conceive to be a hopeless cause? Let us banish such feelings, and show a spirit that will keep alive the confidence of the people rather than damp their courage. Better tidings will soon arrive. Our cause is just and righteous, and we shall never be abandoned by Heaven while we show ourselves worthy of its aid and protection."

At this time there were but twenty-eight of the members of Congress present at Philadelphia. Mr. Adams said, "That this was the smallest, but the truest Congress they ever had."

But a few days had elapsed when the news arrived of the glorious success at Saratoga, which gave a new complexion to our affairs and confidence to our hopes.

Soon after this, Lord Howe, the Earl of Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, arrived as commissioners to treat for peace under Lord North's conciliatory proposition. Mr. Adams was one of the committee chosen by Congress to draught an answer to their letter. In this it is stated, "That Congress will readily attend to such terms of peace as may consist with the honor of an independent nation."

At this time the enemies of our freedom were busily employed to create disunion among its friends. Reports were circulated of attempts

to deprive General Washington of his command, in which, it was said, Mr. Adams was a principal leader. This was not true. It is possible that some warm expressions may have fallen from him when he spoke of the multiplied disasters which attended our military operations, and of the effects they produced on the public mind; and for political purposes, our opponents gave to them, probably, a different and distorted sense.

In a letter to his friend, Richard Henry Lee, Esq. dated in 1789, in speaking of executive appointments as provided for in the constitution of the United States, he thus notices the subject: "I need not tell you, who have known so thoroughly the sentiments of my heart, that I have always had a very high esteem for the late commander-in-chief of our armies; and I now most sincerely believe, that while President Washington continues in the chair, he will be able to give, to all good men, a satisfactory reason for every instance of his public conduct. I feel myself constrained, contrary to my usual manner, to make professions of sincerity on this occasion; because Doctor Gordon, in his History of the Revolution, has gravely said that I was concerned in an attempt to remove General Washington from command; and mentions an anonymous letter to your late Governor Henry, which I affirm I never saw, nor heard of, till I lately met with it in reading the history."

In 1779 Samuel Adams was placed by the state convention on a committee to prepare and report a form of government for Massachusetts. By this committee he and John Adams were appointed a subcommittee to furnish a draught of the constitution. The draught produced by them was reported to the convention, and, after some amendments, accepted. The address of the convention to the people was jointly written by them.

In 1781 he was elected a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, and was shortly afterwards elevated to the presidency of that body.

In 1787 he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts convention for the ratification of the constitution of the United States. He had some objections to it in its reported form; the principal of which was to that article which rendered the several States amenable to the Courts of the nation. He thought that this would reduce them to mere corporations. There was a very powerful opposition to it, and some of its most zealous friends and supporters were fearful that it would not be accepted.

Mr. Adams had not then given his sentiments upon it in the convention; but regularly attended the debates.

Some of the leading advocates waited upon Mr. Adams and Mr.

Hancock, to ascertain their opinions and wishes, in a private manner. Mr. Adams stated his objections, and said that he should not give it his support unless certain amendments were recommended to be adopted. These he enumerated. Mr. Hancock was president of the convention, and at that time confined to his house by indisposition. His opinion coincided with that of Mr. Adams; and he observed, that he would attend and give it his support upon the same condition expressed by Mr. Adams. This was mutually agreed to. Mr. Adams prepared his amendments, which were brought before the convention, and referred to a committee, who made some inconsiderable alterations, with which the constitution was accepted. Some of these were afterwards agreed to as amendments, and form, at present, a part of that instrument.

In 1789 he was elected Lieutenant-governor of the State of Massachusetts, and continued to fill that office till 1794, when he was chosen governor of that state. He was annually re-elected till 1797, when, oppressed with years and bodily affirmities, he declined being again a candidate, and retired to private life.

After many years of incessant exertions, employed in the establishment of the independence of America, he died on the 3d October, 1803, in the eighty-second year of his age, in indigent circumstances.

The person of Samuel Adams was of middle size. His countenance was a true index of his mind, and possessed those lofty and elevated characteristics which are always found to accompany true greatness.

He was a steady professor of the Christian religion, and uniformly attended public worship. His family devotions were regularly performed, and his morality was never impeached.

In his manners and deportment he was sincere and unaffected; in conversation, pleasing and instructive; and in his friendships, steadfast and affectionate.

His revolutionary labors were not surpassed by those of any individual. From the commencement of the dispute with Great Britain he was incessantly employed in public service; opposing, at one time, the doctrine of the supremacy of "parliament in all cases," taking the lead in questions of controverted policy with the royal governors, writing state papers from 1765 to 1774;—in planning and organizing clubs and committees, haranguing in town meetings, or filling the columns of public prints with essays adapted to the spirit and temper of the times. In addition to these occupations, he maintained an extensive and laborious correspondence with the friends of American freedom in Great Britain and in the provinces.

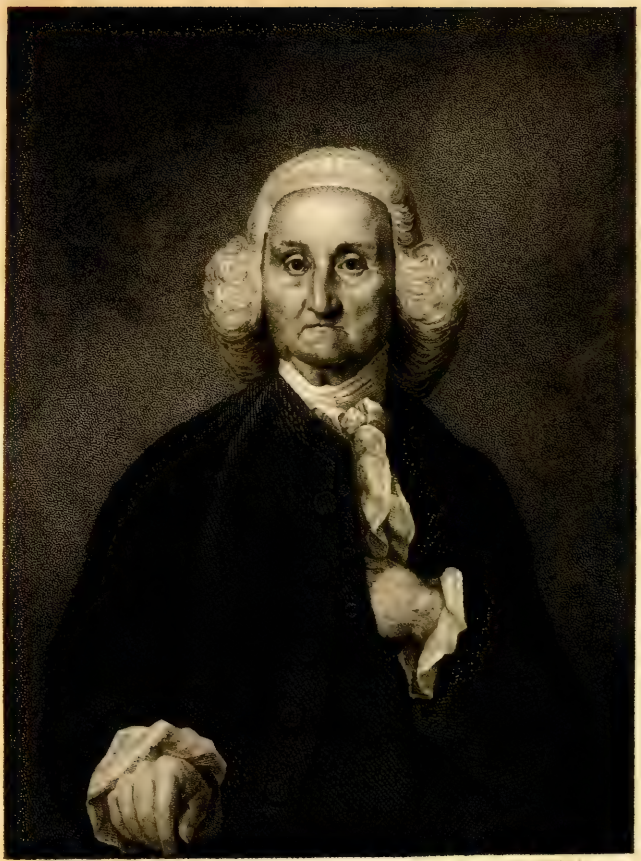
No man was more intrepid and dauntless when encompassed by dangers, or more calm and unmoved amid public disasters and adverse fortune. His bold and daring conduct and language subjected him to great personal hazards. Had any fatal event occurred to our country, by which she had fallen in her struggle for liberty, SAMUEL ADAMS would have been the first victim of ministerial vengeance. His blood would have been first shed as a sacrifice on the altar of tyranny, for the noble magnanimity and independence with which he defended the cause of freedom. But such was his firmness, that he probably would have met death with as much composure as he regarded it with unconcern.

His writings were numerous, and much distinguished for their elegance and fervor; but, unfortunately, the greater part of them have been lost, or so distributed as to render their collection impossible.

He was the author of a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough;—of many political essays directed against the administration of Governor Shirley;—of a letter in answer to Thomas Paine in defence of Christianity, and of an oration published in the year 1776.

Four letters of his correspondence on government are extant, and were published in a pamphlet form in 1800.

MR. ADAMS'S eloquence was of a peculiar character. His language was pure, concise, and impressive. He was more logical than figurative. His arguments were addressed rather to the understanding than to the feelings; yet he always engaged the deepest attention of his audience. On ordinary occasions there was nothing remarkable in his speeches; but on great questions, when his own feelings were interested, he would combine every thing great in oratory. In the language of an elegant writer, the great qualities of his mind were fully displayed in proportion as the field for their exertion was extended; and the energy of his language was not inferior to the depth of his mind. It was an eloquence admirably adapted to the age in which he flourished, and exactly calculated to attain the object of his pursuit. It may well be described in the language of the poet, "thoughts which breathe, and words which burn." An eloquence, not consisting of theatrical gesture or the pomp of words; but that which was a true picture of a heart glowing with the sublime enthusiasm and ardor of patriotism; an eloquence, to which his fellow-citizens listened with applause and rapture; and little inferior to the best models of antiquity, for simplicity, majesty, and persuasion.



Painted by Col. John Trumbull — Engraved by J. Mackenzie

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Jon; Trumbull

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Joseph Trumbull, the ancestor of the Trumbull family, came, as is understood, from Cumberland County, England, to Ipswich, in Massachusetts, in the year 1640. His son, John, removed to Suffield, Hartford County, Connecticut, which was then within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. He had three sons, John, Joseph, and Benoni. Their descendants have been distinguished in the civil, political, and literary history of the State. John Trumbull, the celebrated author of McFingal and other poems, was the son of John, who was a distinguished clergyman at Waterbury. The Reverend Benjamin Trumbull, D. D., the historian, was the son of Benoni, who was a clergyman at Hebron. Jonathan Trumbull was the son of Joseph, who settled at Lebanon as a merchant, where the subject of this memoir was born, on the 10th of June, (O. S.) 1710.

He entered Harvard College in 1724, and graduated with honor in 1727. He immediately commenced the study of Theology with the Rev. Solomon Williams of Lebanon. In due time he was licensed to preach, and soon after was invited to settle in the ministry at Colchester, in his native State. While deliberating upon the subject, a family affliction turned the current of his life into another channel. An elder brother, who was engaged in business with his father, had sailed on a voyage to London, in June 1732, and was never more heard of. For a long time a forlorn hope was entertained that the vessel had been captured by the Algerines; but, distressing as even that hope was, time proved it to be fallacious. The loss of this son, with the vessel and cargo, which wholly belonged to them, was severely felt by the aged father, who found himself unfitted to settle up his mercantile concerns without the assistance of his surviving son, who, at the urgent request of his father, with great reluctance declined the call of the church at Colchester.

In closing up the affairs of his brother, Jonathan Trumbull

gradually commenced business for himself, and was, for many years, a merchant in his native town. He imported his goods direct from London, and by his fair and upright dealing secured the respect and confidence of the public.

At the age of twenty-three he was elected a member of the General Assembly of the Colony. Here a new scene opened before him. His talents for public business were soon perceived and acknowledged, and he rose rapidly in the estimation of the freemen of the Colony. He was soon chosen speaker of the House, and shortly afterward a member of the Council. In 1766 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony, and, by virtue of that office, Chief Judge of the Superior Court. He continued in that office until 1768. Pitkin, the Governor of the Colony, being advanced in life, was cautious in his proceedings upon the absorbing subjects which then agitated the public mind. The right claimed by the British Parliament of taxing the Colonies at their pleasure, and the passage of the Stamp Act, caused great excitement. Governor Pitkin, and several of the council, took the oath enjoined by the British Government on that occasion; but the Lieutenant-Governor absolutely refused to take it himself, or to be present when it was administered to others.

In resistance to the arbitrary acts of Parliament, no person in the Colony was more active, ardent, or energetic, than Lieutenant-Governor TRUMBULL.

In 1769 he was chosen by the people Governor of the Colony, as one on whom, in times of danger and trouble, they could safely rely; and he fulfilled their expectations to the end of his career. He decided in council, by his casting vote, to resist, by force of arms, the encroachments of Great Britain against the liberties of the Colony. This was an act of fearful responsibility, considering the power of the nation to be resisted and the means of defence; and it may here be remarked, that he was the only Colonial Governor, at the commencement of the Revolution, who espoused the cause of the people. During the whole controversy he remained steadfast in the cause; and he was the only Governor of a State who held his station through the war. He was not only considered the leader of the Whigs in his own State, but throughout New England. His firmness in danger; his persevering spirit in the most gloomy period; his ardor, patriotism, and zeal in his country's cause; endeared him to all lovers of their country. As a politician, his views were clear, correct, and open; and the soundness and sagacity of his opinions and judgment were proved by the happy results which followed his undeviating

course. As he never paused in the performance of his duty, so he never despaired of the triumph of his countrymen.

The immense business he transacted, and the manner in which it was done, proved his diligence, ability, and fidelity. During the whole war of the Revolution a council of safety sat with him, except during the sessions of the General Assembly: at all other times he and his council were the Executive of the State. In addition to his duties as Governor, and his attendance with the Legislature, (at least three times a year,) he sat in council during the war more than one thousand days. His correspondence with the Governors of the other States, and with the Commander-in-chief and other officers of the army, was very extensive. He promptly complied with the requisitions of General Washington for supplies, to the extent of his ability, or the power of the State: and it is a fact not generally known, that Connecticut furnished the United States with more troops and supplies than any other State in the Union, except Massachusetts. In addition to the contributions of Connecticut to the forces of the Union, her own sons defended their soil themselves. It is believed the United States never furnished a regiment for her protection, or to repel an invading enemy, and yet the enemy never rested a single night in the State undisturbed.

The foreign correspondence of Governor TRUMBULL was not only extensive, but of great importance to the country, and should be published; as we are confident, from what we have seen of it, that it would not only be highly interesting, but that it would reflect a light upon the history of the time, untinged by personal or partizan prejudices, and confirm the claims of the venerable Governor to a place in the first rank of American patriots. A few extracts from his domestic and foreign correspondence will illustrate its character.

Letter from Governor TRUMBULL to Governor Gage.

"*Hartford, April 28th*, 1775.

"SIR,

"The alarming situation of public affairs in this country, and the late unfortunate transactions in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, have induced the General Assembly of this Colony, now sitting in this place, to appoint a committee of their body to wait upon your Excellency, and to desire me, in their name, to write to you relative to these very interesting matters.

"The inhabitants of this Colony are intimately connected with the people of your province, and esteem themselves bound, by the strongest ties of friendship as well as of common interest, to regard with attention whatever concerns them. You will not therefore be surprised that your first arrival at Boston with a body of his Majesty's troops, for the declared purpose of carrying into execution certain acts of Parliament, which in their apprehension were unconstitutional and oppressive, should have given the good people of this Colony a very just and general alarm. Your subsequent proceedings, in fortifying the town of Boston, and

other military preparations, greatly increased their apprehensions for the safety of their friends and brethren; they could not be unconcerned spectators of their sufferings, in that which is esteemed the common cause of this country: but the late hostile and secret inroads of some of the troops under your command into the heart of the country, and the violences they have committed, have driven them almost into a state of desperation. They feel now, not only for their friends, but for themselves, and for their dearest interests and connexions. We wish not to exaggerate, we are not sure of every part of our information; but by the best intelligence that we have yet been able to obtain, the late transaction was a most unprovoked attack upon the lives and property of his Majesty's subjects, and it is represented to us that such outrages have been committed as would disgrace even barbarians, and much more Britons, so highly famed for humanity as well as bravery. It is feared, therefore, that we are devoted to destruction, and that you have it in command and intention to ravage and desolate the country. If this is not the case, permit us to ask, why have these outrages been committed? Why is the town of Boston now shut up? To what end are all the hostile preparations that are daily making? And why do we continually hear of fresh destinations of troops for this country? The people of the Colony, you may rely upon it, abhor the idea of taking arms against the troops of their sovereign, and dread nothing so much as the horrors of civil war. But, at the same time, we beg leave to assure your Excellency, that as they apprehend themselves justified by the principle of self-defence, so they are most *firmly* resolved to defend their rights and privileges to the last extremity; nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren if any unjustifiable attack is made upon them. Be so good, therefore, as to explain yourself upon this most important subject, as far as is consistent with your duty to our common sovereign. Is there no way to prevent this unhappy dispute from coming to extremities? Is there no alternative but absolute submission, or the desolations of war? By that humanity which constitutes so amiable a part of your character, for the honor of our sovereign, and by the glory of the British empire, we entreat you to prevent it, if it be possible. Surely it is to be hoped that the temperate wisdom of the empire might even yet find expedients to restore peace, that so all parts of the empire may enjoy their particular rights, honors, and immunities. Certainly this is an event most devoutly to be wished for. And will it not be consistent with your duty to suspend the operations of war on your part, and enable us on ours to quiet the minds of the people, at least till the result of some further deliberations may be known? The importance of the occasion will, we doubt not, sufficiently apologize for the earnestness with which we address you, and any seeming impropriety which may attend it, as well as induce you to give us the most explicit, and favorable answer in your power.

"I am, with great esteem and respect,
"in behalf of the General Assembly,
"Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,
"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

Letter from Governor TRUMBULL to the Baron Van De Capellan of Holland.

"*Lebanon, 27th June*, 1777.

"The cause of Liberty is not peculiar to one free State—it is a common cause; the destruction of one cannot be indifferent to the few other free States, which God, in his Providence, hath preserved from being swallowed up by tyranny. It was with the greatest pleasure we were informed that the States of Holland refused to lend their troops to Great Britain, to be used in extending the dominion of tyranny over these States, and effacing almost the only traces of liberty which remain in one quarter of the globe; I cannot sufficiently express the gratitude we feel for the generous part, you, Sir, was pleased to take in that matter, worthy of a senator of a free State, and a candid and impartial friend of liberty and humanity.

"In the United States of America you will be revered. We are now reduced to the ne-

cessity of defending, by force, against the power of a renowned and mighty empire, our ancient and indubitable rights, immunities, and privileges, founded upon national liberty, confirmed by Royal charters, of the predecessors of the (present) King of Great Britain; approved and recognized by successive Parliaments; and enjoyed, from the first settlement of these States, to the present day. The present reign opened with a deliberate system and digested plan to reduce these States to the most abject dependence and vassalage. By our ancient charters, by the most solemn contracts with our kings, we were to have, and enjoy, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of free and natural born subjects of the realm of England; of these privileges, that which fixes private property, and exempts the subject from taxation but by his own consent, has been always justly reputed the chief, the loss of which involves in it, or draws after it, the loss of all the rest; this was first attacked."

After giving a statement of the rise, origin, and cause of the contest between the Colonies and the Mother country, their petitions and causes of complaints, &c. (which, from its length, cannot be inserted in this article,) he says:

"To many, the views of the British cabinet had been long apparent; most people, however, had flattered themselves the nation would not suffer the Court to take away their privileges by force; and that at length they would be confirmed; but now, it is become evident to all, that the design to strip them of their privileges, and lay their lives and property at the mercy of a haughty and unfeeling ministry and a venal Parliament, was fixed and determined; and that no step tending to that end would be deemed inexpedient or unjust, if practicable. On the 19th day of April, 1775, the scene of blood was opened by the British troops, by the unprovoked slaughter of the Provincial troops at Lexington and Concord. The adjacent Colonies took up arms in their own defence; the Congress again met, again petitioned the Throne for peace and settlement; and again their petitions were contemptuously disregarded. When every glimpse of hope failed, not only of justice but of safety, we were compelled, by the last necessity, to appeal to Heaven, and rest the defence of our liberties and privileges upon the favor and protection of Divine Providence; and the resistance we could make by opposing force to force. Although the war was begun on our part, under the greatest disadvantages, without any preparation of arms, artillery, military stores, magazines of provisions, or other necessaries, which proves to demonstration that the war did not proceed from any ambitious, premeditated plan on our part; yet Heaven has so smiled upon us hitherto, that we have been able to maintain ourselves and make head against our enemies. And, although all Europe has resounded with ostentatious accounts of their victories and success, it is nevertheless true that they have not yet been able to maintain themselves in any post where they were not protected by their navy; or where, if attacked, they could not immediately retire on board their transports. And we have yet good hopes and a fair prospect, with the smiles of Heaven, of making a good defence, and vindicating our liberty against the unjust attempts of power to deprive us of it. From our brethren in Great Britain we have not experienced their boasted candor, impartiality, and clemency. We appeal from their injustice to the Supreme Governor and Judge, and to the candid censure of the impartial world. In you, Sir, and in your wise and generous sentiments, we find that justice, the sincerity of our intention and rectitude of our measures entitle us to hope for. We may justly flatter ourselves that no free State will so far forget what is due to their own glory and interest, as to lend their aid to exterminate liberty, (even) from the wilds of America; might they not rather be expected to assist in preserving what liberty yet remains upon earth from falling a sacrifice to the encroachments and avidity of Tyrants—lest Liberty itself should be banished or forced from amongst men, and universal tyranny, with its attendant calamities and miseries, overwhelm the whole human race? But

I desist; it is not my intention to send you a history. I would only thank you for your favorable sentiments of us, and request a continuance of your good offices as far as we shall appear to you to deserve them."

The Baron's answer was received, dated Zwoll, 7th Dec. 1779, written in Dutch—some few extracts are here inserted:—

"To be the object of public esteem of a people, worthy and virtuous as the brave Americans, is a thing so great, that all the credit of your name, (as also of Mr. Erkelaus,) could not persuade me that I have merited the smallest part of the gratitude which you please to testify (on their part) for the small services I have tried to render them.

"It is true, Sir, I have engaged, since the year 1775, in the good cause of your compatriots, with that zeal as the love of liberty inspired me, for such as dare to defend it, against the horrors of all sorts of oppression; but after all, what I have done, is nothing but an act of pure justice. By my birth I am a member of the nobles of my Province, and am called in the Assembly of the States, not States General, (as is believed in your country,) but of the Province of Overysell. I should have thought myself responsible for the innocent blood which has been shed in your country, if I had permitted such things without opposition, &c. ——— One other cause of the mistrust of the Americans' credit is, the false news which the English continue to make concurrent, which the friends of America cannot contradict, by want of information; it would be of the last importance to enable them, by authentic information, and which contains nothing that is not exact and true. If you would choose, Sir, to honor me with such a correspondence, be persuaded I will make a very good use of it. Communicate news as in confidence, and it will have more effect. Your letters, which I have communicated to others in Amsterdam, (however, with discretion, and without giving copies as yet,) have made a deep impression on all who have read them; all regretted that such a true and energetic defence of the cause of United America should be buried in the portfolio of a private correspondence. A description of the present state of United America, the forms of Governments in the different Republics, of the facilities with which strangers can establish themselves there, and find subsistence, the price of lands, &c., with a history of the present war and the cruelties committed by the English, would do wonders in a land where we don't know America even by the newspapers; and where there is, in the mean time, a very great number of honest people, who ——— but I would here very near forget to be a Hollander. Continue to write me in English. Yes, Sir, I long to make our epistolary correspondence to be a basis of friendship, which, founded on our mutual attachment to the liberty of the human race, would become the most solid. I'll try to merit the same so much, that I beg you to believe that I am, with all respect due to your virtue, your talents, and your character,

"Sir, I am,

(Signed.) "Johan. Theodore Van De Capellan."

The correspondence continued till the Governor's death.

In 1780 the General Assembly of Connecticut passed an act to authorize a loan abroad. The confidence which the firm and open character of his correspondence had inspired now came into use for the country. The Governor took great interest in effecting this loan, that the finances of the State might be placed upon a sure footing. The following letter to his son, Colonel John Trumbull, who was then in Europe, will give his own views on the subject:—

"*Lebanon, 30th Dec.* 1780.

"DEAR SON,

"The General Assembly of this State have passed an act to obtain a loan from Holland or elsewhere, to the amount of £200,000, on terms which the enclosed act will show you. This will go under cover to Messrs. Neufville & Son, in Amsterdam, to whom I refer you, among others, for their assistance and council. As our prospects principally centre in Holland, I can wish this letter may find you there, and that you will pay your first and most assiduous attention to that quarter. Give me the earliest information of the way and probable expense of getting the money in specie here, and of whatever else you may judge needful for me to be advised. This (loan) is not sought on the principles of despair, but to put our finances on a better footing; the spirit of the country remains firm and steady; men for three years, or during the war, will fill and complete the army: I hope to get the finances (of our State) upon a sure and good footing.

"I am, my dear Son,

"Your ever affectionate Father,

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

The services of Governor TRUMBULL, throughout the war, were of very great importance, not merely to Connecticut, but to the United States. "General Washington relied on him as one of his main pillars of support," says Mr. Sparks, in a note to one of Washington's letters; and, indeed, the numerous letters of the General to the Governor, which have been published, are full of evidence of the correctness of the remark.

In October, 1783, Governor TRUMBULL declined any further election to public office. "A few days," said he, in his address to the General Assembly, "will bring me to the anniversary of my birth; seventy-three years of my life will then be completed; and next May, fifty-one years will have passed since I was first honored with the confidence of the people in a public character. During this period, in different capacities, it has been my lot to be called to public service almost without interruption. Fourteen years I have had the honor to fill the chief seat of Government. With what carefulness, with what zeal and attention to your welfare, I have discharged the duties of my several stations, some few of you, of equal age with myself, can witness for me from the beginning. During the latter period, none of you are ignorant of the manner in which my public life has been occupied! The watchful cares and solicitude of an eight years' distressing and unusual war have also fallen to my share, and have employed many anxious moments of my latest time; which have been cheerfully devoted to the welfare of my country. Happy am I to find that all these cares, anxieties, and solicitudes are amply compensated by the noble prospect which now opens to my fellow-citizens, of a happy establishment (if we are but wise to improve the precious opportunity) in peace, tranquillity, and national

independence. With sincere and lively gratitude to Almighty God, our great protector and deliverer, and most hearty congratulations to all our citizens, I felicitate you, Gentlemen, the other freemen, and all the good people of the State, in this glorious prospect.

"Impressed with these sentiments of gratitude and felicitation, reviewing the long course of years in which, through various events, I have had the pleasure to serve the State; contemplating, with pleasing wonder and satisfaction, at the close of an arduous contest, the noble and enlarged scenes which now present themselves to my country's view; and reflecting, at the same time, on my advanced stage of life—a life worn out almost in the constant cares of office—I think it my duty to retire from the busy concerns of public affairs: that at the evening of my days I may sweeten their decline by devoting myself with less avocation and more attention to the duties of religion, the service of my God, and preparation for a future and happier state of existence; in which pleasing employment I shall not cease to remember my country, and to make it my ardent prayer that Heaven will not fail to bless her with her choicest favors.

"At this conspicuous moment, therefore, of my country's happi ness, when she has just reached the goal of her wishes, and obtained the object for which she has so long contended, and so nobly struggled, I have to request the favor from you, Gentlemen, and through you, from all the freemen of the State, that, after May next, I may be excused from any further service in public life; and that from this time I may be no longer considered as an object of your suffrages for any public employment in the State."

After thanking the Assembly for the aid which they had always afforded him in the discharge of his duties, the Governor availed himself of his experience, and rendered his last address "an advisory legacy" to his constituents. It is a patriarchal document, worthy of the admiration of the lovers of their country; and as such we commend it to the sons of Connecticut, that it may be rescued from oblivion, and have its place amongst the wise and patriotic counsel of the Fathers of the Commonwealth.

Governor Trumbull did not long survive to enjoy the tranquillity of private life. He was seized with a malignant fever, and, after a few days' illness, died on the 17th of August, 1785.

The subject of this brief sketch was a remarkable man, even amongst the prominent men of his time. Educated for the ministry, and his career changed by unexpected events to the discharge of the highest civil duties of the State, there was a combination of religion

and worldly wisdom in all his actions, and which may be traced in his correspondence. Even his manners were characterized by the same traits, and won the admiration and regard of those who were familiar with Courts and courtiers, as well as of his own unsophisticated countrymen.

He was an indefatigable student; and notwithstanding his weighty responsibilities and official cares, he found time to "search the Scriptures" in the original languages; kept up his acquaintance with ancient and modern history; and did more than any other person of his day to preserve the knowledge of the early history of his own country. He retained the costume of the early part of the eighteenth century, and the primitive habits of his fathers; he was grave, and serious, and mild in his discourse, but firm and resolute in action. He took time to deliberate on all subjects, and expressed his opinions forcibly and with decision.

The following letter, addresssed to the venerable Governor's son, (who was afterward Governor,) will be read with attention and respect; and, in addition to what we have already stated, will, we believe, furnish a sufficient answer to the numerous inquiries we have received, why we have selected a subject about whom so little is generally known:—

"*Mount Vernon, Oct.* 1st, 1785.

"My Dear Sir,

"It has so happened that your letter of the 1st of last month, did not reach me until Saturday's post.

"You know too well the sincere respect and regard I entertained for your venerable father's public and private character, to require assurance of the concern I felt for his death; or of that sympathy in your feelings for the loss of him, which is prompted by friendship. Under this loss, however, great as your pangs may have been at the first shock, you have every thing to console you.

"*A long and well-spent life in the service of his country, places* Governor Trumbull *among the first of patriots.* In the social duties he yielded to no one; and his lamp, from the common course of nature being nearly extinguished, worn down with age and cares, but retaining his mental faculties in perfection, are blessings which rarely attend advanced life. All these combined, have secured to his memory unusual respect and love here, and, no doubt, unmeasurable happiness hereafter.

"I am sensible that none of these observations can have escaped you, that I can offer nothing which your own reason has not already suggested upon the occasion; and being of Sterne's opinion, that "before an affliction is digested, consolation comes too soon, and after it is digested it comes too late, there is but a mark between these two, almost as fine as a hair, for a comforter to take aim at," I rarely attempt it; nor should I add more on this subject to you, as it will be a renewal of sorrow, by calling afresh to your remembrance things that had better be forgotton.

"My principal pursuits are of a rural nature, in which I have great delight, especially as I am blessed with the enjoyment of good health. Mrs. Washington, on the contrary, is

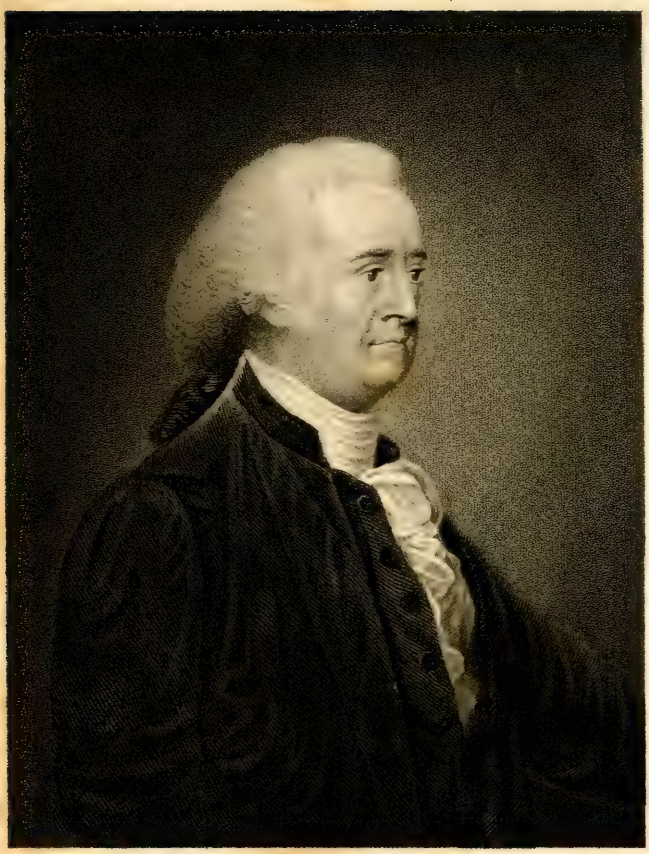
hardly ever well; but, thankful for your kind remembrance of her, joins me in every good wish for you, Mrs. Trumbull, and your family.

"Be assured, that with sentiments of the purest esteem and regard, I am,

"Dear Sir, your affectionate friend,

"And obedient servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."



J. Rittenhouse

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

"In the friendly competitions of the states for the comparative merits of their respective statesmen and orators," says Dr. Ramsay, (to whose sketches we are indebted for this memoir,) "while Massachusetts boasts of her John Adams—Connecticut of her Ellsworth—New-York of her Jay—Pennsylvania of her Wilson—Delaware of her Bayard—Virginia of her Henry—South Carolina rests her claims on the talents and eloquence of John Rutledge."

This eminent patriot of the Revolution was the son of Dr. John Rutledge, who, with his brother Andrew, both natives of Ireland, settled in Carolina about the year 1735. Dr. Rutledge married Miss Hext, who became the mother of the subject of the present memoir in 1739 in the 15th year of her age. This lady became a widow at an early period, and adds another example to the number, already noticed in this work, of illustrous matrons, who, by devotion to their maternal duties, have been honored and rewarded in the virtues and eminence of their offspring.

The early education of John Rutledge was conducted by David Rhind, an excellent classical scholar, and one of the most successful of the early instructors of youth in Carolina. After he had made considerable progress in the Latin and Greek classics, he entered on the study of law with James Parsons, and was afterwards entered a student in the Temple, and proceeding barrister, came out to Charleston and commenced the practice of law in 1761. One of the first causes in which he engaged was an action for breach of a promise of marriage. The subject was interesting, and gave an excellent opportunity for displaying his talents. It was improved, and his eloquence astonished all who heard him.

Instead of rising by degrees to the head of his profession, he burst forth at once the able lawyer and accomplished orator. Business flowed in upon him. He was employed in the most difficult causes, and retained with the largest fees that were usually given. The

client in whose service he engaged, was supposed to be in a fair way of gaining his cause. He was but a short time in practice, when that cloud began to lower, which, in the course of ten or twelve years, burst forth in a revolutionary storm. In the year 1764 Governor Boone refused to administer to Christopher Gadsden the oaths which the law required every person returned as a member in the commons house of assembly to take before he entered on his legislative functions. This kindled the indignation of the house, as being an interference with their constitutional privileges as the sole judges of the qualifications of their own members. In rousing the assembly and the people to resist all interferences of the royal governors in deciding who should, or who should not be members of the commons house of assembly, JOHN RUTLEDGE kindled a spark which has never since been extinguished.

This controversy was scarcely ended when the memorable Stamp Act was passed. The British Colonies were then detached from each other, and had never acted in concert. A proposition was made by the assembly of Massachusetts to the different provincial assemblies for appointing committees from each to meet in congress as a rallying point of union. To this novel project many objections were made; some doubted its legality, others its expedience, and most its efficiency. To remove objections, to conciliate opposition, and to gain the hearty concurrence of the assembly and the people, was no easy matter. In accomplishing these objects, the abilities of JOHN RUTLEDGE were successfully exerted. Objections vanished—prejudices gave way before his eloquence. The public mind was illuminated, and a more correct mode of thinking took place. A vote for appointing deputies to a Continental congress was carried in South Carolina at an early day, and before it had been agreed to by the neighboring states. Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and JOHN RUTLEDGE, were appointed. The last was the youngest, and had very lately began to tread the threshold of manhood. When the first congress met in New-York in 1765, the members of the distant provinces were surprised at the eloquence of the young member from Carolina. In the means of education that province was far behind those to the northward. Of it little more was known or believed than that it produced rice and indigo, and contained a large proportion of slaves and a handful of free men, and that most of the latter were strangers to vigorous health, all self-indulgent, and none accustomed to active exertions either of mind or body. From such a province nothing great was expected. A respectable committee of

its assembly, and the distinguished abilities of one of them who was among the youngest members of the congress, produced at this first general meeting of the Colonies more favorable ideas of South Carolina than had hitherto prevailed.

After the repeal of the Stamp Act, JOHN RUTLEDGE was for some years no further engaged in politics than as a lawyer and a member of the provincial legislature. In both capacities he was admired as a public speaker. His ideas were clear and strong—his utterance rapid but distinct—his voice, action, and energetic manner of speaking, forcibly impressed his sentiments on the minds and hearts of all who heard him. At reply he was quick—instantly comprehended the force of an objection—and saw at once the best mode of weakening or repelling it. He successfully used both argument and wit for invalidating the observations of his adversary: by the former he destroyed or weakened their force; by the latter he placed them in so ludicrous a point of light that it often convinced, and scarcely ever failed of conciliating and pleasing his hearers. Many were the triumphs of his eloquence at the bar and in the legislature; and in the former case probably more than strict impartial justice would sanction; for judges and juries, counsel and audience, hung on his accents.

In or after the year 1774 a new and more extensive field was opened before him. When news of the Boston port-bill reached Charleston, a general meeting of the inhabitants was called by expresses sent over the state. After the proceedings of the British parliament were stated to this convention of the province, sundry propositions were offered for consideration. To the appointment of delegates for a general congress no objection was made. But this was followed by propositions for instructing them how far they might go in pledging the province to support the Bostonians. Such a discordance of opinions was discovered as filled the minds of the friends of liberty with apprehensions that the meeting would prove abortive. In this crisis JOHN RUTLEDGE, in a most eloquent speech, advocated a motion which he brought forward to give no instructions whatever; but to invest the men of their choice with full authority to concur in any measure they thought best; and to pledge the people of South Carolina to abide by whatever they would agree to. He demonstrated that any thing less than plenary discretion to this extent would be unequal to the crisis. To those who, after stating the dangers of such extensive powers, begged to be informed what must be done in case the delegates made a bad use of their unlimited authority to pledge

the state to any extent, a laconic answer was returned: "Hang them." An impression was made on the multitude. Their minds were subdued by the decision of the proposed measure, and the energy with which it was supported. On that day and by this vote the Revolution was virtually accomplished. By it the people of Carolina determined to be free, deliberately invested five men of their choice as their representatives with full powers to act for them and to take charge of their political interests. Royal government received a mortal wound, and the representative system was planted in its stead. The former lingered for a few months and then expired. The latter instantly took root, and has ever since continued to grow and flourish. An election immediately followed. The mover of this spirited resolution, his brother Edward Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Henry Middleton, were elected. Furnished with such ample powers, they took their seats in congress under great advantages, and by their conduct justified the confidence reposed in them. JOHN RUTLEDGE was continued by successive elections a member of congress till the year 1776. He returned to Charleston in the beginning of that year, and was elected president and commander-in-chief of Carolina, in conformity to a constitution established by the people, on the 26th of March 1776. His duties henceforward were executive. He employed himself diligently in arranging the new government, and particularly in preparing for the defence of the state against an expected invasion by the British. Their attack on Sullivan's Island has been already related.* On this occasion JOHN RUTLEDGE rendered his country important service. General Lee, who commanded the Continental troops, pronounced Sullivan's Island to be a "slaughter pen," and either gave orders or was disposed to give orders for its evacuation. The zeal of the state, and the energy of its chief magistrate, prevented this measure. Carolina had raised troops before congress had declared independence. These remained subject to the authority of the state, and were at this early period not immediately under the command of the officers of congress. To prevent the evacuation of the fort on Sullivan's Island, JOHN RUTLEDGE, shortly before the commencement of the action on the 28th of June, 1776, wrote the following laconic note to General Moultrie, who commanded on the island. "General Lee wishes you to evacuate the fort. You will not without an order from me. I would sooner cut off my hand than write one. J. RUTLEDGE."

* In the biography of General Moultrie, in the first volume of this work.

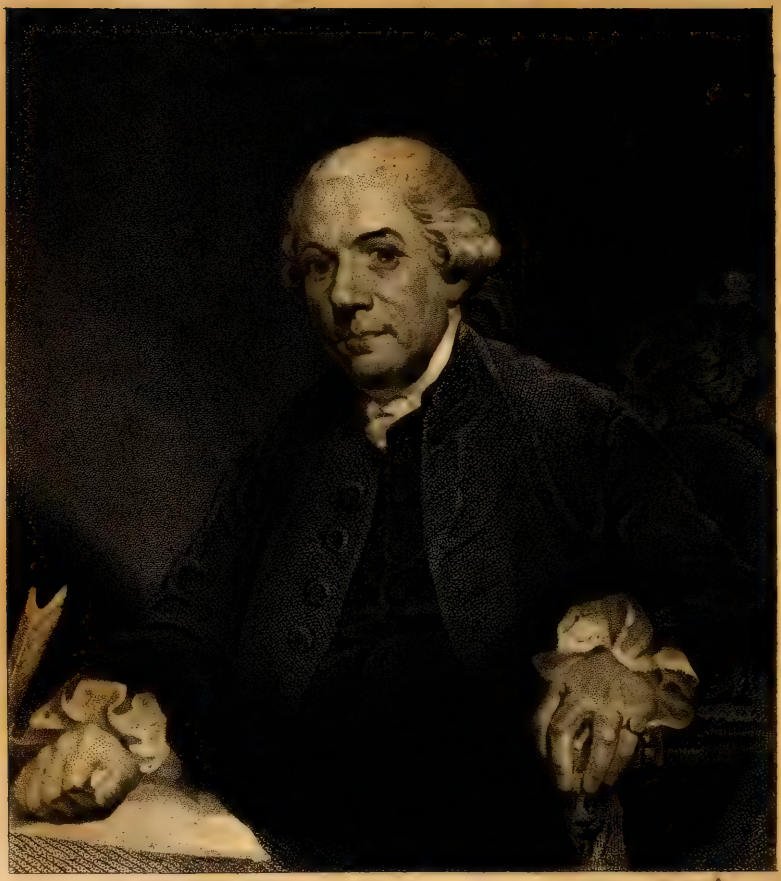
The consequences which would probably have followed from the evacuation of the fort, may in some measure be conjectured from the events of 1780; when the British, grown wiser, passed the same fort without engaging it.

JOHN RUTLEDGE continued in the office of president till March 1778, when he resigned. The occasion and reasons of his resignation are matters of general history. This did not diminish his popularity. Of this the legislature gave the strongest proof; for the next election he was reinstated in the executive authority of the state, but under a new constitution, and with the name of Governor substituted in the place of President. He had scarcely entered on the duties of this office, when the country was invaded by the British General Prevost. Governor RUTLEDGE made great exertions to repel this invasion—to defend Charleston in the years 1779, 1780—to procure the aid of congress and of the adjacent states—to drive back the tide of British conquest—to recover the state, and to revive its suspended legislative and judicial powers. On the close of his executive duties in 1782, he was elected and served as a member of congress till 1783. In this period he was called upon to perform an extraordinary duty. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis in October, 1781, seemed to paralyze the exertions of the states. Thinking the war and all danger to be over, they no longer acted with suitable vigor. Congress, fearing that this languor would encourage Great Britain to re-commence the war, sent deputations of their members to rouse the states to a sense of their danger and duty. On the 22d of May, 1782, JOHN RUTLEDGE and George Clymer were sent in this character, and instructed "to make such representation to the several states southward of Philadelphia as were best adapted to their respective circumstances and the present situation of public affairs, and as might induce them to carry the requisitions of congress into effect with the greatest dispatch." They were permitted to make a personal address to the Virginia assembly. In the execution of this duty, JOHN RUTLEDGE drew such a picture of the United States, and of the danger to which they were exposed by the backwardness of the particular states to comply with the requisitions of congress, as produced a very happy effect. The addresser acquitted himself with so much ability that the Virginians, who, not without reason, are proud of their statesmen and orators, began to doubt whether their Patrick Henry or the Carolina RUTLEDGE was the most accomplished public speaker. Soon after the termination of Mr. RUTLEDGE's con-

gressional duties, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary from the United States to Holland, but declined serving.

In the year 1784 he was elected a judge of the court of Chancery in South Carolina. The events of the late war had greatly increased the necessity for such a court. JOHN RUTLEDGE draughted the bill for organizing it on a new plan, and in it introduced several provisions, which have been very highly commended as improvements on the English court of the same name. Mr. RUTLEDGE'S public duties hitherto had been either legislative or executive. They were henceforward judicial. If comparisons were proper, it might be added that he was most at home in the latter. His knowledge of the law was profound; but the talent which pre-eminently fitted him for dispensing justice was a comprehensive mind, which could at once take into view all the bearings and relations of a complicated case. When the facts were all fairly before him, he promptly knew what justice required. The pleadings of lawyers gratified their clients, but rarely cast any light on the subject which had not already presented itself to his own view. Their declamations and addresses to the passions were lost on him. Truth and justice were the pole-stars by which his decisions were regulated. He speedily resolved the most intricate cases, pursued general principles through their various modifications till they led to the fountain of justice. His decrees were so luminous, and the grounds of them so clearly expressed, that the defeated party was generally satisfied.

In the year 1787 he was called upon to assist in framing a national constitution in lieu of the advisory system of the confederation. In arranging the provisions of that bond of union, and in persuading his countrymen to accept it, he was eminently useful. As soon as it was in operation, he was designated by President Washington as an associate justice of the Supreme court of the United States. In this office he served till 1791, when he was elected chief justice of South Carolina. He was afterwards appointed chief justice of the United States. Thus for more than thirty years, with few and short intervals, he served his country in one or other of the departments of government; and in all with fidelity and ability. This illustrious man closed his variegated career in the year 1800.



Engraved by T. B. Welch from a drawing by W. G. Armstrong after the Portrait by J. S. Copley.

HENRY LAURENS.

Henry Laurens

HENRY LAURENS.

Henry Laurens was born at Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1724. His ancestors were French protestants, who sought in the American wilderness a refuge from persecution, shortly after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. We have already traced the genealogy of several of our Revolutionary patriots to the same period.

After receiving the best education which the most competent teachers in Carolina could impart, Henry Laurens was put under the care of Thomas Smith, a merchant of Charleston, and afterwards of Mr. Crockatt of London, and acquired those habits of order and method in business for which he was remarkable. On his return to Charleston he entered into partnership with Mr. Austin, a merchant already engaged in an extensive trade. He devoted himself to business with a zeal and industry which far surpassed his contemporaries; and he established a character for himself worthy the emulation of all young merchants. He was scrupulously punctual in the discharge of all pecuniary engagements, and in being where, and doing what, he had promised. He was an early riser, and frequently had the business of the day arranged when others were beginning to think of leaving their beds. His letters were generally written in the retired hours of the night or morning; and whether on subjects of business, friendship, or amusement, were considered models of forcible expression and perspicuity of language.

He studied human nature in all the various specimens which it was his interest to know thoroughly, with the earnestness of Lavater; and his judgment enabled him very soon to ascertain the true value of every man with whom he had to transact business. His diligence, prudence, and knowledge of men and business, could not fail of success; and in winding up the concerns of the partnership, in 1770, twenty-three years after its commencement, and which had embraced transactions to the amount of many millions, such was their confidence in the safety of their business, that he offered to his partner to take all

outstanding debts as cash at a discount of only five per cent. on the aggregate amount.

One of the strong traits of his character, was his love of justice. He would never draw a bill of exchange until he had a written acknowledgment of indebtedness to the amount drawn for. He once had a lawsuit with the Vice-Admiralty Judge, in which he resisted the claims of the royal government, which by some recent regulations were hostile to American rights. Mr. LAURENS being cast, he tendered to the Judge his legal fees to a considerable sum. The Judge declined receiving them, and Mr. LAURENS conceiving he had no right to retain what was legally due from him, gave the amount to the South Carolina Society, to be expended in charity. He pursued the same course on other occasions, when money was left unclaimed in his hands, which he was unwilling to keep.

He once persuaded a favorite slave to receive the small pox by inoculation, which terminated fatally. To comfort the dying man for the unfortunate issue of the experiment, assurances were given to him that his children should be emancipated · which was accordingly done.

Having amassed a fortune far exceeding what was then common in America, and being a widower, he went to Europe in 1771, to superintend the education of his sons. During his residence in England, the disputes between the Colonies and the parent state continued to approach the point where an amicable adjustment was hopeless. Mr. LAURENS saw the approaching crisis, and endeavored to arrest it. True to his country, and fully assured of the firm determinations of his countrymen to resist oppression, he was anxious to avert the stroke which he foresaw would rouse them to arms in self-defence. He united with thirty-eight other Americans in a petition to the British Parliament against the passage of the bill to shut up the port of Boston, and so soon as he found the die was cast against his country, he hastened his departure to Carolina, determined to take his share in the struggle for freedom. Great efforts were made to induce him to remain in England, but he would not listen to the persuasions of friends nor the allurements of interest. When about to embark from Falmouth, he wrote to Mr. Oswald, who was subsequently one of the negotiators for peace, "Your ministers are deaf to information, and seem bent on provoking unnecessary contest. I think I have acted the part of a faithful subject. I now go resolved still to labor for peace; at the same time determined, in the last event, to stand or fall with my country." To numerous friends in England he freely gave the assurance that

America would not submit to the claims of the British Parliament, and on his landing at Charleston, in December 1774, he declared with equal confidence that Britain would not recede, and that war was inevitable. Much reliance was placed upon his opinion, and vigorous preparations for defence were immediately commenced by the Carolinians.

Mr. Laurens was a member of the first Provincial Congress, held at Charleston on the 11th of January, 1775, and was elected president of the Council of Safety, appointed by that body, with powers to carry on the business of the Colony during the recess of the Congress. This committee, or Council of Safety, were invested with full executive powers; they stamped money, raised troops, issued commissions to officers, authorised an attempt on the Island of Providence for the acquisition of military stores; sent *a talk* to the Catawba Indians; and performed, indeed, all the functions of a regular government with admirable firmness, although they were well aware that their lives and fortunes were at stake.

The well-known activity and promptness which had distinguished Mr. Laurens as a merchant, were equally valuable in him as a statesman; and the public business was despatched with vigor and sound judgment until the establishment of a regular constitution in the State of South Carolina, in March 1776. He was soon afterward elected a member of Congress, of which he was appointed president on the 1st of November, 1777. The station to which he was now elevated brought him into intimate correspondence with Washington, and it may be remarked as one of the events of this period of his life, of equal importance to his country and his own fame, that when the Commander-in-chief was assailed by a malignant faction, which sought, by false and anonymous suggestions, to obtain his removal, Mr. Laurens remained firm and steadfast in his attachment to Washington, and was the first to expose the artifices of his opponents. The alliance with France, and the efforts of the British ministry to neutralize its effects by sending out commissioners to treat with the constituted authorities in America, or with individuals, were also important events of the same period.

In December, 1778, Mr. Laurens resigned the chair of Congress. In the following year he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Holland, for the purpose of forming a commercial treaty, and to obtain loans. Some unofficial overtures had been previously received, and even the plan of a treaty between the States general of Holland and the United States had been communicated to Congress, which Mr.

Laurens was authorised to carry into effect. He sailed for Europe in the summer of 1780, and was captured on his passage out by a British frigate. He threw his papers overboard, but as they did not immediately sink, they were recovered by the activity of a British sailor, and disclosed the situation of affairs between the two countries, and led to the declaration of war against Holland when the demand of the English minister for speedy satisfaction was not complied with.

Mr. Laurens was carried to London, where he was examined before the Privy Council, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower on the charge of high treason. There he was confined more than a year, and was treated with great severity. No person was permitted to speak to him, nor was he permitted to speak to any one; he was deprived of the use of pen and ink, and all intercourse by letters was strictly prohibited. These strict orders were, however, relaxed after a few weeks; for the King's ministers were desirous of turning his influence to advantage, and they dared not to punish him capitally for fear of retaliation.

One of his friends in London applied to the Secretary of State for Mr. Laurens's liberation on parole, and offered his whole fortune as security for his good conduct; he was authorised to say to Mr. Laurens, that "if he would point out any thing for the benefit of Great Britain in the present dispute with the Colonies, he should be enlarged." This proposition was indignantly rejected. The same friend soon after was permitted to visit him with another proposition, the amount of which was, that he should remain in London, as the ministers would have frequent occasion to consult him; and that he should write two or three lines to them, merely to say that he was sorry for what had passed. "A pardon will be granted," said his friend. "Every man has been wrong at some time or other of his life, and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. Laurens replied, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy, and to the dishonor of my children."

Cut off from all social intercourse, he was only permitted to learn the progress of events during his confinement from such newspapers as announced the successes of the British arms, particularly in South Carolina, after the surrender of Charleston; or his own misfortune in the sequestration of his estate by the conquerors. Still he remained steadfast and unmoved.

In the course of the year 1781, it was intimated to Mr. Laurens that it would be advantageous to him if he would write to his son, Colonel Laurens, then on a mission to the Court of France, and request

him to withdraw from that country. But he replied, "My son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request, it would have no effect, he would only conclude that confinement and persuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man of honor. He loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honor to save my life, and I applaud him."

Mr. LAURENS wrote with a pencil a request to the Secretary of State for permission to use pen and ink, for the purpose of drawing a bill of exchange on a merchant in London, who was in his debt, as he was in want of means for his immediate support. To this application no answer was returned. As soon as he had completed a year in the Tower, he was called on to pay ninety-four pounds ten shillings sterling to the two warders who had attended him; but he replied, "I will not pay the warders whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with." Three weeks afterward, materials were brought to him to write a bill of exchange, but they were removed the moment that business was done.

Towards the end of the year 1781, the sufferings which Mr. LAURENS had been compelled to endure in the Tower began to be generally known; and elicited strong expressions of compassion in his favor, and censure against the authors of his confinement. But there were difficulties in the way of his release not easy to be overcome. He would make no concessions, nor consent to any act which implied that he was a British subject; as such he had been committed, on a charge of high treason, but he regarded himself as a citizen of the United States,—a prisoner of war. To extricate themselves from this difficulty, Ministers proposed to take bail for his appearance at the court of King's Bench. When the words of the recognizance, "Our sovereign lord the King," were read to Mr. LAURENS, he replied in open court, "Not my sovereign!!" Notwithstanding that, he, with Mr. Oswald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, was bound for his appearance at the next court of King's Bench for Easter term, and for not departing without leave of the Court, on which he was immediately released. When the time drew near for his appearance at court, he was not only discharged from all obligations to attend, but was solicited by Lord Shelbourne to assist, by his presence on the continent, at the negotiations for peace which were then in progress. He proceeded to Paris, and there signed the preliminaries of peace on the 30th of November, 1782, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay.

Mr. Laurens soon after returned to Carolina, with a constitution broken by the rigorous confinement of more than fourteen months in the Tower, and he never afterwards enjoyed good health. His countrymen rejoiced at his return, and proffered every mark of honor in their power to bestow; but he declined all solicitations to suffer them to elect him governor, a member of congress, or of the legislature of the state. He was, without his consent, elected a member of the convention for the revision of the federal constitution, but declined serving. He retired from all public business, and interested himself only in promoting the welfare and happiness of his family and dependents, by various agricultural experiments, and the improvement of the society of his friends and neighbors.

His health gradually declined, and on the 8th of December, 1792, near the close of his 69th year, he expired. His will concluded with the following remarkable request, which was literally complied with: "I solemnly enjoin it on my son, as an indispensable duty, that as soon as he conveniently can after my decease, he cause my body to be wrapped in twelve yards of tow-cloth, and burnt until it be entirely consumed, and then, collecting my bones, deposite them wherever he may think proper."

Engraved by J. Parker from a drawing by W. J. Armstrong after the original painting by J. Wood.

MAJOR GENERAL THOMAS SUMTER.

Thos. Sumter

THOMAS SUMTER.

THE name of General SUMTER, of South Carolina, is conspicuous in the story of our revolutionary struggle, but the details of his actions are scattered through many books, and have never, we believe, been arranged in the form of a personal memoir. After many efforts to obtain new matter. and to render this sketch more perfect than we could otherwise hope to make it from the materials within our reach, we have to confess our utter failure. The indifference or procrastination of the present representative of the family, to whom we have applied, has left us, up to the last moment, without a line of information; and the unhappy fate of the Steamer Home deprived us of Professor Nott, who had engaged to furnish a biography of General SUMTER from such materials as he could obtain in South Carolina. We are therefore thrown upon our own resources, and can only promise a careful collection of all the material facts in relation to the public life of the distinguished soldier, who, as a partisan officer, scarcely ranked below even Marion himself.

It is probable that the military talents of General SUMTER had been exhibited in the militia service of Carolina long before the commencement of the revolution; as we find that so early as March, 1776, he was appointed by the provincial congress lieutenant-colonel of the second regiment of riflemen; but he does not appear to have particularly distinguished himself until after the fall of Charleston, in May, 1780. His peculiar genius had then free scope, and led him on to a series of actions of importance to his country, and the more remarkable from the circumstances under which he organized his force, and the sudden and unexpected check given to the rapid career of the conquerors of General Lincoln's army.

In a few weeks after the capitulation of Charleston, the enemy held complete possession of the state, and on the 4th of June Sir Henry Clinton wrote to his government, "I may venture to assert that there are few men in South Carolina, who are not either our prisoners or

in arms with us." The few brave spirits who had not bowed to the storm, sought shelter and the means of renewing the contest in North Carolina. Among these was Colonel SUMTER; but despondency and inactivity formed no part of his character. At the head of a body of republicans like himself, driven from their native states, who had chosen him to their command; few in number, imperfectly armed, and almost destitute of ammunition, he returned to South Carolina, to oppose himself to a veteran and victorious army.

On the 12th of July he surprised and cut to pieces a superior party of the enemy, composed of thirty-five dragoons of the legion, twenty mounted infantry, and a large body of loyalists. The commander of the party, Captain Huck, a miscreant noted for his cruelty and profanity, was killed; and of his whole party but about twenty made their escape.

Among those who served under Col. SUMTER, was Colonel Neale. This gentleman, an ardent Whig, had commanded a regiment of militia in S. Carolina, and had fled from the state after the fall of Charleston. When Lord Cornwallis, contrary alike to policy and justice, determined to admit no neutrality in the contest, but that all who did not unite themselves to the British force should be proceeded against as enemies, Col. Neale's regiment was enrolled in the royal service. Hearing of the approach of SUMTER, together with their old commander, they hastened to join him. His force was still farther increased by the junction of small parties of Whigs from the Waxsaw settlement, who had been exasperated by the treatment of the British authorities. Col. SUMTER, now promoted by Governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier-general in the state militia, found himself in a situation to undertake some more considerable enterprise.

On the 30th of July he passed Broad river at Blair's ford, with about six hundred men, and advanced upon Rocky Mount. The defences of the post consisted of two log-houses and a loop-holed building, surrounded by a ditch and an abattis—the whole placed upon a commanding eminence, and encircled by an open wood. The garrison was composed of the New-York volunteers and a party of royalist militia, and was commanded by Col. Turnbull. Having no artillery, Gen. SUMTER sheltered the greater part of his men among the trees and rocks, with directions to keep up a heavy fire upon the garrison; while at the head of a picked party, he himself proceeded to the assault. After being twice repulsed, he still persevered, and succeeded in penetrating within the abattis; but the strength of the post was too great to admit of its being taken without artillery, and he was finally compelled to retire.

Not discouraged by his want of success, after an interval of eight days SUMTER fell upon Hanging Rock, another of the chain of posts by which the British kept up their commuuication with the lower country. Hanging Rock was garrisoned by five hundred men, consisting of one hundred and sixty infantry of Tarleton's legion, a part of Col. Brown's regiment, and Bryan's North Carolina corps. Through an error of the guides, the attack was first directed against Bryan's royalists, who, being surprised, gave way in all directions. Tarleton's infantry were next forced to fall back on Brown's detachment; this, though fighting with great bravery, was in its turn compelled to give ground. The British troops retreating, formed themselves into a hollow square in the centre of their position. In the mean time the ranks of the militia had become disordered; many had been attracted by the plunder of the camp, and others had indulged too freely in the liquor which had been found in it. SUMTER, with the few troops that he could bring into array, made a determined advance upon the new position of the enemy; but the disorder had spread too deeply, and a sufficient number of men could not be assembled to make an impression on it. A retreat, therefore, was determined on. This was accomplished leisurely, and in the face of the enemy, who had suffered too severely to offer any interruption. When Gen. SUMTER began the action, his men had but ten rounds of ball each, and before its termination they were amply supplied from the stores of the British and Tories.

From the inattention of the militia to regular returns of the killed and wounded, the loss on the part of the Americans could not be ascertained; many of the wounded being carried home immediately from the field of battle. The loss of the enemy considerably exceeded our own. Of one hundred and sixty men of Tarleton's legion, they acknowledge sixty-two to have been killed and wounded; and their other corps suffered severely. Immediately after the action Gen. SUMTER crossed the Catawba. His reputation for enterprise and ability was now established. His success in the two latter instances would have been more decided, had it not been for his want of artillery, and the undlsciplined nature of his troops. As it was, it raised the drooping spirits of the Whigs, and gave his men confidence in the skill and courage of their leader.

In the mean time Gen. Gates had entered South Carolina, and shortly afterwards his army took up a position at Rugely's Mills, not far from Gen. SUMTER's encampment. Receiving information that a detachment of the enemy was on its march from Ninety-six to Camden, with stores for the main army, SUMTER requested a reinforcement

from Gen. Gates to enable him to intercept it. Col. Woolford, of the Maryland line, with one hundred continentals, two pieces of cannon, and three hundred militia, were despatched to his assistance. Thus reinforced, on the morning of the 15th of August SUMTER appeared on the west bank of the Wateree, fell upon the convoy which was the object of the expedition, and succeeded in taking forty-four wagon loads of stores and clothing, together with a number of prisoners. On the evening of the 17th, SUMTER, who was on his retreat up the river, received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Camden, and of the total dispersion of the American army. Unhappily, his movement up the country had brought him into the immediate neighborhood of the British army. Encumbered as he was with prisoners and baggage, he immediately continued his retreat, and by the celerity of his movement, avoided a corps under the command of Col. Turnbull, which Lord Cornwallis had despatched against him. At noon on the 18th of August, he encamped his men on the north side of Fishing Creek, a small stream that falls into the Catawba about forty miles above Camden. Here the arms were stacked, videttes were posted; and the wearied troops, overcome by fatigue, enjoyed an interval of repose, rendered more agreeable by their previous exertions.

The day after the battle of Camden, Lord Cornwallis, fearing lest SUMTER might escape Col. Turnbull, had directed Col. Tarleton, with his legion and some light infantry, to move likewise in pursuit. After a rapid march, on the 17th, Col. Tarleton finding many of his men too fatigued to continue the pursuit, selected one hundred of the dragoons, together with about sixty of the light infantry, and pressed forward without intermission. Passing the Catawba at Rocky-Ford, he got into the rear of SUMTER, who was utterly unapprized of his approach. Two videttes, who fired upon his advance, being killed without the alarm being taken, Tarleton fell upon the camp, seized the arms of the Americans, and instantly charged them while confused, unprepared, and unarmed. A fearful slaughter followed. A few of the regulars taking post behind the wagons, offered some resistance; but it was soon suppressed, and the rout was universal. One hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, and over three hundred were made prisoners; while the stores and clothing previously captured, again fell into the hands of the enemy. SUMTER himself fortunately escaped unhurt. By this terrible blow, South Carolina was again left at the mercy of the conqueror; the few men under Marion constituting the sole force embodied for her protection.

Immediately on his defeat, SUMTER retired to the upper country,

where he was soon joined by a few of his men who had escaped the slaughter of the 18th. Volunteers flocked to his standard, and he was again in a condition to harass the enemy.

He ranged the district about the Enoree, Broad, and Tiger Rivers. His men being all mounted, were enabled to move about the country with speed and facility. When they approached an enemy, the horses were tied and left in charge of a few of the party; so that in defeat they afforded a safe retreat, in victory the means of pursuit.

In the early part of the fall, SUMTER was at the head of such a force as to attract towards him the attention of Lord Cornwallis; and Major Wemyss, with the sixty-third regiment and about forty of the legion cavalry, was despatched in pursuit of him. The former success of Tarleton inspired Wemyss with the hope of likewise surprising his enemy. Pushing forward with great celerity on the night of the 8th November, he reached the encampment of SUMTER on the bank of the Broad River. Fearing if he delayed till morning, SUMTER might be advised of his proximity, he determined upon an immediate attack. At one o'clock in the morning his troops advanced to the assault. Col. Wemyss, who was at the head of his men, fell by the fire of the picket, which was immediately driven in. The British troops pushed forward; but they found the Americans in arms, and ready to receive them. Unprepared to meet so firm a resistance, and discouraged by the fall of their leader, the British forces soon retreated with precipitation, leaving their commander and twenty men upon the ground. In the morning Col. Wemyss was discovered, badly wounded. He had been active in prosecuting the severe measures of Lord Cornwallis against those Whigs, who, contrary to a solemn compact, being called upon to join the British forces, had preferred the service of their countrymen. Some of the Whigs had been hanged by his orders, and he in person had attended their execution. In his pocket was found a list of the houses which he had burned. The paper being handed to General SUMTER, he immediately threw it into the fire, and ordered every attention to be paid to the prisoner. Col. Wemyss was shortly after permitted to go to Charleston on parole.

After the action, Gen. SUMTER crossed the Broad River, and effecting a junction with Cols. Clarke and Banner, who commanded parties of militia from the mountains, concerted with them measures for the surprise of Ninety-six. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting the designs of the American commander, hastily recalled Col. Tarleton, who at that time was absent on an expedition against Marion, directing him to join his forces to the sixty-third regiment, which had not yet returned from its

fruitless attack, and bring SUMTER to action. Col. Tarleton pursued his foe with the impetuosity by which he was characterized. SUMTER, receiving timely information of his approach, and not being strong enough to risk an engagement, retreated. On the afternoon of the 20th of Nov. he reached Blackstock's Hill, an eminence on the east bank of the Tiger River. Here he received information of the rapid approach of Col. Tarleton, who, apprehensive lest his prey should escape, had left behind him a majority of his troops, and was advancing at the head only of the legion cavalry and some mounted infantry of the sixty-third regiment; the whole amounting to about four hundred men. Confiding in the strength of his ground, Gen. SUMTER determined to await the approach of the enemy, and offer him battle. His centre was posted in some log buildings occupying the middle of the hill; his right was placed behind some rails, which were flanked by an inaccessible mountain; and his left was distributed in a piece of rugged ground covered by a bend of the river. A small brook ran in front of the whole, and the road to the ford passed directly through the centre of the position. On coming in view of the American position, Col. Tarleton was struck with its strength, and halting his men on an opposite eminence, determined to await the approach of the remainder of his force. A portion of his men were accordingly dismounted, until the arrival of his infantry should enable him to commence the battle. Observing the movement, SUMTER determined to bring on an immediate action. Accordingly a number of his militia were ordered to advance upon the British. A sharp conflict ensued; but the sixty-third charging with fixed bayonets, the militia were driven back. Pursuing their advantage too far, the sixty-third received a murderous fire from the buildings in which the American centre was posted, and were thrown into confusion. Col. Tarleton, seeing the dangerous situation in which the regiment was placed, attempted, by a vigorous charge up hill with his cavalry, to relieve them; but his men, thinned by the fire of the Americans, were forced to retire in disorder. A second attempt on the American left was attended with no better success. All his efforts proving ineffectual, Tarleton was forced to retreat with precipitation, leaving his wounded upon the field.

On this occasion the American loss amounted to but three men killed and four wounded. The British, according to their own accounts, lost more than fifty men; while the Americans, who from remaining masters of the field, had every opportunity of information, make it amount to ninety-two men killed and one hundred wounded. Unfortunately, among the small number wounded on the American side,

was General SUMTER, who received a musket ball in his breast near the right shoulder.

After burying the dead, and supplying the wounded of the enemy with every comfort in his power, Gen. SUMTER continued his retreat. Having reached a place of safety, the greater part of his followers dispersed, and he himself, guarded by a few of his faithful soldiers, was borne into North Carolina, there to wait till the healing of his wound should enable him to resume his active duties in the field. Shortly after this, Congress passed a vote directing their thanks to be presented to Gen. SUMTER and the troops under his command for their patriotism, bravery, and military conduct; at the same time particularizing the affair at Hanging Rock, the defeat of Major Wemyss, and the repulse of Col. Tarleton at Blackstocks.

When Col. Tarleton wrote to Cornwallis his version of the affair, Cornwallis in his answer said, "I shall be very glad to hear that SUMTER is in a condition to give us no further trouble; he certainly has been our greatest plague in this country." SUMTER was confined by his wound for several months, but in the early part of Feb. 1781, though still feeble, he was sufficiently recovered again to take the field.

General Greene was at that time retreating before Lord Cornwallis, while South Carolina was again left without a continental army. Under these circumstances, it was an important object to alarm the enemy for the safety of the posts which he had left behind him in the rapid pursuit of Greene. Assembling about two hundred and fifty North Carolina militia, and being joined by Col. Wade Hampton with a small reinforcement, SUMTER made a rapid movement upon Fort Granby, a post of the enemy situated on the south banks of the Congaree. Piles of rails were constructed so as to enable the marksmen to fire down upon the enemy, who were destitute of artillery. The attack was pressed so vigorously, that the British were on the point of yielding, when the appearance of Lord Rawdon on the opposite bank of the river, at the head of a superior force, compelled SUMTER to retreat. Retiring southward on the second day after the affair at Granby, he surprised and captured a detachment of fifty British troops, and a convoy of provisions and clothing which they were escorting. Unfortunately, the convoy, which was of the highest importance to the American army, being placed in boats and sent down the river, was retaken by the British posted at Fort Watson. Swimming his horses across the Santee, and transporting his men in canoes, SUMTER attempted to carry the post and recover the lost booty; but being unprovided with artillery, the attempt proved vain, and the Americans were repulsed.

After sheltering his men a few days in the swamps on the north side of the Santee, he moved towards the north-eastern part of the state, and encamped in the friendly neighborhood of Charlotte.

This expedition annoyed and distressed the enemy, by breaking up the communications between his posts, kept up the spirits of the Americans, and furnished Gen. SUMTER with a mass of information concerning the force and movements of the enemy. This last was immediately dispatched to Gen. Greene through Col. Hampton.

Gen. SUMTER's services had hitherto been performed altogether by means of militia, a species of force, in the then state of the country, constantly fluctuating in numbers, joining and leaving the camp with almost equal facility, and little to be depended on in expeditions which required time. He now attempted to enlist a body of men in the service of the state for ten months. While thus engaged, he received a letter from Gen. Greene, announcing the intention of the latter to permit Lord Cornwallis to pursue his march north without interruption from him, while he himself should again enter South Carolina, and attempt to drive the enemy from the southern states. In accordance with this plan, Gen. SUMTER was directed to procure provisions for the main army, to obtain all the information in his power, and to break up, as much as possible, the communications between the enemy's posts. SUMTER, in pursuance of these instructions, took the field on the 20th of April, with the men he had been able to raise. Several parties of the royalist militia were dispersed, and the country between the Broad, Saluda, and Wateree rivers completely swept. The importance of SUMTER's services at this period is shown by the frequency of his communications with Gen. Greene. Besides furnishing him with all the provisions he could collect, sometimes in the course of a day several letters containing information would be sent to the main army. On the 11th of May he made a sudden attack on the post at Orangeburg, and took near one hundred prisoners with a large supply of stores and provisions. About this time some difficulty occurring between Col. Lee and himself, SUMTER sent a remonstrance to Gen. Greene, enclosing his commission; the next day it was returned with many expressions of esteem, and SUMTER sacrificed his private discontent to the service of his country.

In July, when General Greene, on account of the ill-health prevalent in the army, retired to the high hills of Santee for the benefit of repose and purer atmosphere, he despatched Gen. SUMTER, having under him the corps of Marion and Lee, to break up the enemy's posts in the vicinity of Charleston, and to dislodge the nineteenth regiment

stationed at Monk's Corner. The country was swept to the gates of Charleston, the fort at Dorchester broken up, and a large party of mounted refugees were dispersed by Col. Wade Hampton, who commanded SUMTER's cavalry. The main object of the expedition, which was the nineteenth regiment, then posted at Monk's Corner, failed; Col. Coates retreating during the night over a bridge which had been deserted by the militia placed to guard it. On the following day SUMTER came up with the enemy, who had taken post in the house and the out-houses of Captain Shubrick; but being unprovided with artillery, after an ineffectual effort to dislodge them, he was obliged to give up the attempt.

After the expedition to Dorchester, SUMTER was compelled to retire to the upper country from indisposition; nor was he enabled again to take the field before the enemy were confined to the walls of Charleston. After the peace, he was for a long time a member of the American congress—first as a representative and afterwards as a senator. He lived respected alike for his talents and services, and died on the 1st of June, 1832, at his residence near the Bradford Springs, South Carolina, in the 98th year of his age.

SUMTER was tall and robust, with a bold and open countenance, expressive at once of energy and decision. As a partisan officer, his character was marked by courage, enterprize, and determination. "Greatly superior to General Marion in personal strength, and trusting less to stratagem and skill, he placed his fortune much more exclusively on his daring resolution and the execution of his sword. Warm in temperament and devoted to his country, whatever could contribute to rescue her from the invader and establish her independence, became an object of his ardent affection. He was also enamoured of brilliant achievement for its own sake. To victory, and the glory attending it, he would cut his way through every danger, regardless alike of his own blood and that of the enemy." At the head of a force inferior in equipment and discipline, and attached to their commander only by their confidence in his prowess and ability, he constantly kept the field against a veteran and superior enemy, commonly successful, and in defeat ever able to rally his men and renew the contest. On one unfortunate occasion he is perhaps justly chargeable with a negligence which led to the destruction of his party; but, instructed by experience, he was never again surprised, and both Wemyss and Tarleton felt the effect of his vigilance. In addition to his other qualities, SUMTER was invariably humane in a contest where the conduct of both parties had afforded a good excuse for retaliatory

cruelty. His conduct toward Wemyss and the wounded of Tarleton's legion will long remain evidence of a kindliness of nature not always to be found in the excited breast of the partisan.

B. W. M'C.

Engraved by F. Mackenzie, from the Painting by C. W. Peale in the Philadelphia Museum.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

Richd Montgomery

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

The subject of the present memoir was born in the north of Ireland in 1736; possessed of excellent talents, his parents were careful to mature them by a superior education. He embraced the profession of arms at an early age, and entering the army of Great Britain, commenced his military career in America. The regiment to which he belonged made part of the army which, in 1757, was assembled at Halifax, and intended for the reduction of Louisburg, a fortress of great strength, which was believed to be the key to the French possessions in America. In the attack on that place, which commenced on the 8th of June 1758, Montgomery, who served in the *élite* of the army, under the immediate command of General Wolfe, gave the first decisive evidence of those high military qualities which marked his subsequent conduct. After the capture of Louisburg he marched with his regiment, under the orders of General Amherst, to the relief of Abercrombie, who had been defeated at Ticonderoga. He remained at that point on lake Champlain until 1760, when the conquest of Canada was completed

Large detachments of the British forces in America were then sent to operate against the French and Spanish West India Islands. In the two campaigns which were employed on that laborious and perilous service, Montgomery had a full share of toil and danger, and his conduct was rewarded by promotion to the command of a company.

Soon after the peace in 1763, his regiment returned to New-York, and he obtained leave of absence and revisited Europe, where he remained until 1772, when, having been twice circumvented in the purchase of a majority, he sold his commission, and in January of the

following year he arrived in New-York. On his arrival he purchased an estate on the Hudson, about one hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of Robert R. Livingston. Adopting, in their fullest extent, the American feelings for liberty and hatred of oppression, he freely expressed his readiness to draw his sword on the side of the Colonies; and on the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, the command of the Continental forces was intrusted to him in conjunction with General Schuyler, in the fall of 1775. In October, the indisposition of the latter preventing him from taking the field, the chief command devolved upon General MONTGOMERY.

Leaving his peaceful retirement on the banks of the Hudson, where he had acquired that station and authority among his fellow-citizens which superior acquirements and inflexible integrity never fail to secure, he felt himself called upon, like another Regulus, to bid farewell to those domestic endearments with which he was eminently blessed, and to rush at once upon his short career, which, however sudden its termination, was crowded with scenes of virtuous activity sufficient to have dignified the longest life.

The Canada expedition of this year was one of those measures, which the enemies of America having first rendered necessary, soon strove to construe into an act of hostility and offence. It was evident that preparations were in readiness to invade our frontiers by armed bands of savages, supported by disciplined troops. General MONTGOMERY was therefore despatched to avert the stroke if possible, but if that should prove impracticable, his instructions authorized him to storm the intermediate posts and to attack Quebec. His movements were characterised no less by their efficiency than their humanity. He soon reduced Fort Chamblee, captured St. John's, and by the 12th of November Montreal also surrendered. On the 1st of December he joined Colonel Arnold at Point-aux-Trembles, and proceeded to the siege of Quebec; but as his artillery was not of sufficient calibre to make the requisite impression, he determined upon attempting the capture of the place by storm. The several divisions were accordingly put in motion in the midst of a heavy snow storm, which concealed them from the enemy. MONTGOMERY advanced at the head of the New-York troops along the banks of the St. Lawrence, and assisted, with his own hands, in pulling up the pickets which obstructed his approach to the second barrier, which he was resolved to force. At this juncture the only gun that was fired from the battery of the enemy killed him and his two aid-de-camps. The three fell at the same time, and rolled upon the ice formed upon the river.

The enemy had been struck with consternation, and all but one or two had fled. The death of the general saved Quebec.

When he fell, he was in a narrow passage; and when his body was found the next morning among the slain, it was brought into the city and buried by a few soldiers without any marks of distinction.

General MONTGOMERY's military talents are admitted on all hands to have been great; his measures were taken with judgment and executed with vigor. With undisciplined and raw troops, illy supplied with arms and ammunition, yet he inspired his men with his own enthusiasm; he led them in the coldest season of the year to an inclement country, shared with them in all their hardships, and to the hour of his death was the conqueror of our foes. His industry could not be wearied, nor his vigilance imposed upon. Above the pride of opinion, when a measure was adopted by the majority contrary to his judgment he gave it his full support. He was in every respect admirably calculated to fulfil his arduous enterprise; the command and conduct of the army formed but a small part of his difficult undertaking. The Indians were to be treated with, restrained, and kept in good humor. The French Canadians were likewise to be soothed, protected, and supported; his own army required to be formed, disciplined, animated, accustomed to marches, encampments, dangers and fatigues; and frequently the want of necessary supplies demanded in the first officer the courage of a soldier united to the benevolence of a man. When the men labored under fatigue and wanted bread, had their beds to make in snow or in morasses, they disdained complaint when they saw their commander share in every particular but little better than themselves. On one occasion he says in a letter:—

"Our camp is so swampy I feel exceedingly for the troops; and provisions so scarce, it will require not only dispatch, but good fortune, to keep us from distress. Should things go well, I tremble for the fate of the poor Canadians who have ventured so much. What shall I do with them should I be obliged to evacuate this country? I have assured them that the United Colonies will as soon give up Massachusetts to resentment as them."

Instead of making a merit of the difficulties of his campaign, he sought, in his letters and despatches, to conceal them, ascribing the faults of his "young troops" to their "want of experience," to their hard duty, the constant succession of bad weather, &c., still encouraging them to nobler efforts in future; and if any impatience of discipline appeared, he attributed it to "that spirit of freedom which

men, accustomed to think for themselves, will bring even into camps with them."

His perseverance and good conduct in gaining possession of St. John's and Montreal were the theme of every tongue; his abilities in negotiation; the precision with which the various articles of treaties and capitulations were expressed; the generous applause he gave, not only to every worthy effort of his own officers, but to the commanding officer and garrison of St. John's; his noble declaration to the inhabitants of Montreal, that "the Continental armies despise every act of oppression and violence, being come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security;" all these did honor to himself and to congress, under whose authority he acted.

In a memoir of General MONTGOMERY it would be unjust wholly to omit a tribute to his aids, who fell with him in Canada. They were Captains Macpherson and Cheesman. The first, having finished his education at Princeton, studied law with John Dickinson; animated by his example and precepts, he had become eminent in his profession at a period when many are deemed "under age." The love of liberty being his ruling passion, he thought it his duty to offer himself to the service of his country, and he had soon an opportunity of attaining the military rank of which he was laudably ambitious. He soon became the bosom friend of General MONTGOMERY, was entrusted with a share of his most important negotiations, and stood by his side in the attack upon Quebec; in death they were not a moment divided.

Captain Cheesman, of the New-York forces, fell at the same time, covered with honor, and lamented by all who knew him as an active and gallant officer. Captain Hendricks also deserves mention; he commanded one of the Pennsylvania rifle companies, and was a gallant soldier. The command of the guard belonged to him on the morning of the attack; but he solicited and obtained leave to take a more conspicuous post, and having led his men through the barrier where his commanding officer, General Arnold, was wounded, he long sustained the fire of the garrison with unshaken firmness, till, at last, receiving a shot in his breast, he immediately expired.

The sorrow of the American people for the loss of MONTGOMERY was heightened by the esteem which his amiable character had gained him. The whole country mourned his death; and to express the high sense entertained of his services, congress directed a monument of marble to be placed in front of St. Paul's church in the city of New-York, with the following appropriate inscription:—

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

THIS MONUMENT
Was erected by order of
Congress, 25th January, 1776,
To transmit to posterity
A grateful remembrance of the
Patriotism, conduct, enterprise, and
Perseverance
Of Major-General Richard Mongomery;
Who, after a series of success
Amidst the most discouraging difficulties,
Fell in the attack
On Quebec,
31st December, 1775.
Aged 37* years.

His remains, (after resting forty-two years at Quebec,) by a resolution of the state of New-York, were brought to the city; and on the 8th of July, 1818, they were deposited with grateful ceremonies beneath the aforesaid monument.

Such an example is worthy of the great state which conceived and executed it. Many of our brave men and legislators of the era that tried men's souls still slumber in ignoble scites; it is time the nation was awakened from its apathy on this subject.

As an appropriate conclusion, we may be permitted to quote the following character of General Montgomery from Ramsay's History of the American Revolution:—

"Few men have ever fallen in battle so much regretted by both sides as General Montgomery. His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem. Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle, and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune and the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war instituted for the defence of the community of which he was an adopted member. His well-known character was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused.

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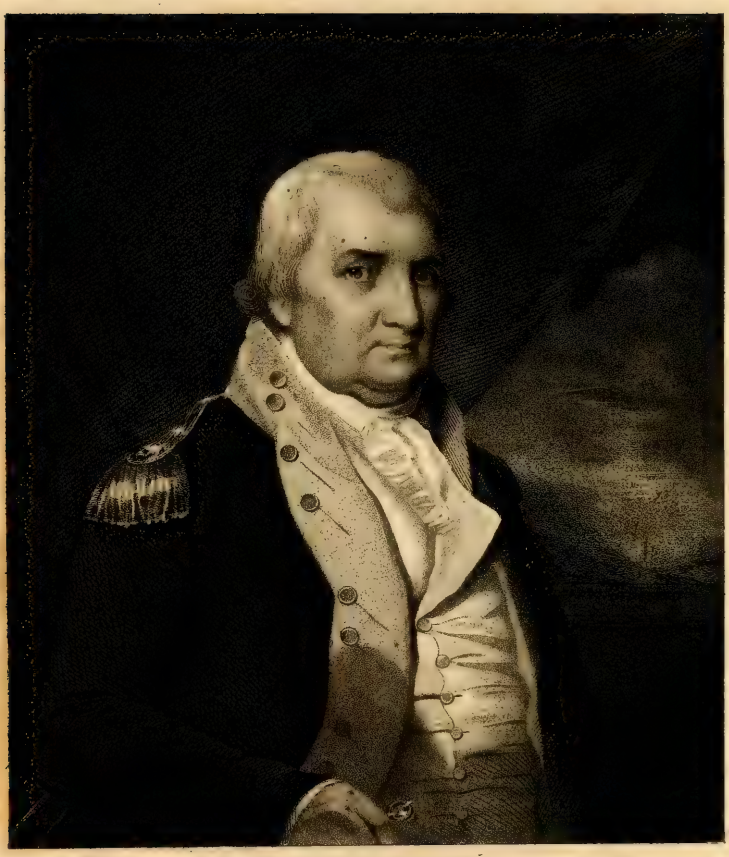
* The age on the monument is 37, as inserted in the text, but it is evidently an error. General Armstrong, in his Memoir of Montgomery, says, he fell "in the first month of his fortieth year."—Ed.

In America he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain, as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that assembly displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise and lamenting his fate. Those, in particular, who had been his fellow soldiers in the late war, expatiated on his many virtues. The minister himself acknowledged his worth while he reprobated the cause in which he fell. He concluded an involuntary panegyric by saying—'Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country.'"

Such was General RICHARD MONTGOMERY; a name that we have cause to remember with pride, not unmingled with regret at his early but honorable death.



Engraved by E. Wellmore from a Miniature by Malbone

MAJOR GENERAL

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

"For these are the men, that when they have played their parts and had their exits, must step out, and give the moral of their scenes: and deliver unto posterity an inventory of their virtues and vices." SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

GENERAL CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY was one of that race, or order of men, who are now nearly, if not quite, extinct in South Carolina. He lived at that fortunate period when a classical and highly-finished education was deemed indispensable, not only for him who had his own fortune to build up, but also for him who had a fortune to spend. The direct trade between the Mother country and the Province, created by the valuable staple products of Rice and Indigo, put it in the power of the planters of South Carolina to send their sons to England with remarkable facility. In proportion, therefore, to population and extent of territory, the number of her young men educated in the English universities far exceeded that of any other of the Colonies. Thus, at the very commencement of our disputes with the Mother country she possessed a band of learned, intelligent, and accomplished gentlemen, fit either for the council or the field; and whose knowledge of the true principles of constitutional liberty gave that high tone to public sentiment, which mainly contributed to bear the people triumphant through that terrible period, which was truly and emphatically said to have "tried men's souls." Among those patriotic men, the subject of this memoir stood in the very first rank; and we shall now attempt to give a brief sketch of his life, which was long, useful, and honorable to his country.

The ancestor of General PINCKNEY came over to South Carolina in the year 1692. From him descended CHARLES, commonly known by the name of Chief Justice Pinckney, a man of great integrity, and of considerable eminence under the Provincial government. The Chief Justice was twice married. His second wife was Eliza Lucas, daughter of George Lucas, a Colonel in the British

army and Governor of Antigua; and on the 25th day of February, 1746, she gave birth to General PINCKNEY at Charleston. In the year 1753, being then seven years old, he was taken over to England by his father, with his brother, the late Major-general Thomas Pinckney. The Chief Justice was one of those sensible men who valued education and moral discipline as far beyond the mere advantages of wealth, and he resolved, even though it might impair the patrimony of his sons, to buy it for them at the highest cost. Accordingly, in his will he enjoins that they shall be thoroughly educated before returning to America; and that in case the income of his estate proved inadequate, a portion of the estate itself must be sold to accomplish this great object of his parental solicitude.

After five years of private tuition, General PINCKNEY was considered as well fitted for Westminster, and in 1758 he was placed by his father at that celebrated school, then under the care of a very distinguished scholar, Doctor Markham, who was afterwards advanced to the See of York. There his industry and good conduct won the esteem of the master; while he there, too, imbibed that classical taste and love of study, which, during an unusually long and eventful life, constituted both its ornament and its solace. That he stood high in the estimation of the master, may be inferred from the following fact. An occurrence in the school having, on investigation, produced much contradictory evidence, Doctor Markham, addressing young PINCKNEY, said, "I know the strictness of your principles and your attachment to truth: speak, PINCKNEY! my decision shall be guided by your sentiment." From Westminster he was removed, in due course, to *Christ Church*, Oxford, where he had the acute Doctor Cyril Jackson as his private tutor. Judge Blackstone was then the Law lecturer; and as the best evidence of General PINCKNEY'S attention and assiduity to that branch of his studies, he has left behind him four large volumes of manuscript, containing those celebrated lectures, which, with a diligence extraordinary in so young a man, he had written down at the time. With so much application and perseverance, knowledge could not be wooed in vain; and he consequently left Oxford with the reputation of being a fine scholar at the early age of eighteen. From that ancient university he entered as a law student at the Temple, where, having done something more than eat the usual number of dinners, he returned to South Carolina in 1769, having, during the last year, visited France and Germany, and devoting nine months to military studies at the Royal Academy of Caen in Normandy.

Sixteen years of absence had not impaired, or in the slightest degree weakened, his affection for his native soil. While in England he had keenly participated in the indignation felt at the passage of the Stamp Act; and a portrait taken of him at that time for his friend Sir Matthew Ridley, represents him in the act of arguing vehemently against that arbitrary measure. It has been declared by his contemporaries, that on his return from England he appeared before them at once as a remarkable young man. His elegant literary attainment—his sound legal knowledge—his high sense of all that was held honorable in the eyes of men, united to the most distinguished manners, impressed on those who knew him the certainty of his future success and elevation.

His commission to practise in the Provincial Courts is dated January 19th, 1770, and he very soon began to acquire business and reputation. It is worthy of notice, as showing the estimation in which he was held by his legal brethren, that he was appointed by Sir Egerton Lee, (his Majesty's Attorney General of the Province,) under a full and formal commission, to act as his substitute on Circuit in the District and Precinct courts of Camden, Georgetown, and Cheraws. This was in 1773, when General PINCKNEY was still a young man: and when we consider the high estimate of their profession by the English lawyers of that day, most of them being not only men of learning and accomplishments, but likewise of high birth and descent, this appointment may be taken as evidence of extraordinary merit. His professional pursuits, with all its emoluments and the expectation of its high reward, was, however, doomed to a sudden blight. The gathering storm of the Revolutionary war burst on the plains of Lexington. It struck on the ear of the patriots of South Carolina, and they at once resolved to prepare for that bloody and unnatural conflict with England, which was now seen to be inevitable.

Accordingly a meeting of the Provincial Congress was summoned by the Committee of Safety to be held in the city of Charleston. It assembled on the first day of June, 1775, and it was almost instantly decided to raise two regiments of infantry, of five hundred men each. The military ardor at this moment was so great, that the first families of the Province eagerly contended for appointments, and the number of cadidates far exceeded the demand. In the midst of this band of gallant spirits, the abilities of General PINCKNEY were seen and acknowledged, and he was elected captain in the first regiment, appearing highest on the list. His Colonel was that firm republican, old Christopher Gadsden. He immediately proceeded on the re-

cruiting service, and fixed his quarters at Newbern in North Carolina. Whilst there, he proved his discernment and intrepidity of purpose, by advising the arrest of two suspicious persons, who came under the assumed garb of *settlers*. Their personal appearance and easy address convinced him that they were not what they would seem to be. He waited on the Committee of Public Safety, and having declared his reasons for believing that the strangers were hostile to the interests of the country, recommended their instant arrest. Unfortunately, the members of the Committee were timid, and refused to follow his advice. The event proved the soundness of his judgment. The strangers left Newbern for Cross Creek, and almost immediately excited the Scotch settlers, their countrymen, to arm in support of the Royal Government. General Moore was sent against them, and they were defeated. The younger of the strangers escaped; his name was McDonald. The other, who proved to be a veteran officer, of the name of McLeod, was killed. Having completed the recruiting service, he joined his regiment in Charleston, which was soon after placed on the *Continental* establishment by a resolution of Congress. In a short time General PINCKNEY obtained the command of the first regiment—its Colonel, Christopher Gadsden, being made a Brigadier, and its Lieutenant-Colonel and Major having been transferred to the command of other regiments.

The glorious defence of Fort Moultrie, and the signal defeat of the British fleet in its attack on that post, gave a calm, and long respite to the people of South Carolina from the horrors of war. The power of England then bore heavily on the States of New-York and Pennsylvania. Burning with ardor to distinguish himself in the field, General PINCKNEY hastened to join the Northern army. He was cordially received by General Washington, who appointed him an aid-de-camp; and in this capacity he was present at the battle of Brandywine, and the bloody affair at Germantown. The impression then made by him on the mind of the Commander-in-chief was of the most durable kind. It was exhibited throughout many years of friendship and of confidence, and on many interesting occasions, and only ceased with life itself. To one of his quick and energetic spirit, the opportunity which he now possessed of increasing his military knowledge, both as to science and discipline, it is reasonable to suppose was not allowed to escape unimproved.

On the first intimation of danger to the South, General PINCKNEY returned to take the command of his regiment. The State of Georgia about this period was greatly harassed by Tories, and repeated

inroads of vagabonds from Florida. It was indispensable to make an effort to save her from total ruin. Major-general Howe, of North Carolina, who commanded the Southern Division, required the aid of the South Carolina forces, and General PINCKNEY was ordered on to join Howe in Georgia. This service was short, but severe. The army had to move about, and drive the enemy at a season of the year when exposure to the climate was sure to produce sickness, if not death. The soldiers were wretchedly provided, not only as to camp equipage, but even as to food. In a letter written at Fort Howe on the Altamaha, addressed to General Moultrie at Charleston, General PINCKNEY describes the sufferings of the men as almost intolerable. Ten and twelve were crowded into one small tent, and many were left uncovered, to sleep under the heavy and deadly dews of the Georgia skies. The Continental troops, which, at the beginning, counted eleven hundred strong, were in the course of two months reduced to only three hundred and fifty men fit for duty. About midsummer General PINCKNEY got back to Charleston, after three months of the hardest service, rendered more acute by the reflection, that disease, and not the weapons of their enemies, had destroyed his soldiers. The sudden dash of Provost at Charleston, the subsequent invasion of Georgia, and the assault on the lines of Savannah, all contributed to bring out into bold relief General PINCKNEY'S fine qualities as a soldier. In the language of a brother officer, "his patient submission to the severities of service, his determined resolution and calm intrepidity, gave decided increase to his military reputation."

The campaigns of 1778 and '79, in the North, having reflected but little lustre on the British arms, Sir Henry Clinton consoled himself with the idea of making easy and brilliant conquests in the Southern and weaker States. Accordingly he prepared and fitted out a very powerful land and naval force for the capture of Charleston. The Royal army, in great strength, on the 11th of February, 1780, landed about thirty miles from the city. So feeble was the garrison at that moment, that, had the British army pushed on immediately to the city, it must have fallen almost without a blow; but Sir Henry Clinton preferred the slow method of a siege. The six Continental regiments in the Carolina establishment were at this time reduced to eight hundred men. The North Carolina and Virginia Continentals, about fifteen hundred strong, were ordered on by Congress: but of this number not more than seven hundred entered the city. Nevertheless, with this feeble garrison, and besieged both by land and water, it was

unanimously determined, in a full house of assembly, to defend the town to the last extremity.

General PINCKNEY at this critical period, with three hundred men, was stationed in command at Fort Moultrie. It was a post of honor, and his heart must have throbbed with exultation as he thought of Moultrie's victory in June, '76 ; and that now fortune had brought him his turn, either to show the flag of his country waving in triumph, or to make it his winding-sheet. But his eager anticipations were disappointed. The British admiral Arbuthnot, taking advantage of a strong southerly wind and flood tide, swept rapidly by Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it.

General PINCKNEY, however, opened a heavy and brisk fire on the ships as they passed under full sail, by which they received considerable damage, and twenty seamen were killed and wounded. Determined to share the fate of Charleston, he soon afterwards withdrew with a part of his garrison, and entered the city. A council of war was assembled for the purpose of deliberating on a capitulation, and it was then that General PINCKNEY displayed that boldness and decision of mind which belongs only to a man of great character. Rising with great composure and dignity of manner, he exclaimed, "I will not say, if the enemy attempt to carry our lines by storm, that we shall be able to resist them successfully: but am convinced we shall so cripple the army before us, that although we may not live to enjoy the benefits ourselves, yet to the United States they will prove incalculably great. Considerations of self are out of the question. They cannot influence any member of this council. My voice is for rejecting all terms of capitulation, and for continuing hostilities to the last extremity." This magnanimous proposition, although supported by Lieut. Colonel Laurens, was not adopted.

Charleston finally capitulated in May 1780, after a close investiture both by land and water of three months. General PINCKNEY was then removed to Haddrel's Point, about two miles from the city, with a large number of other prisoners. At this post they bore incredible privations. Without clothing, credit, or money, their sufferings became so extreme, that the Continental officers of the South Carolina and Georgia lines appointed General PINCKNEY to draw a memorial to Congress describing their condition. It is stated in this paper, that during their long captivity they had never received more than *nine* days' pay from their country.

The well-known influence of General PINCKNEY—his abilities—his zeal in the cause of liberty, and the boldness displayed in main-

taining his principles, made him in a peculiar degree the object of British severity. After enduring an obstinate intermittent fever for several months, he was at last allowed by the Commandant of Charleston, to come over to the city, on the declaration of the British physician, Doctor McNamara Hayes, that it was indispensable for the restoration of his health. Yet, *four* days after the permission had been granted, the same officer suddenly ordered him to return to Haddrel's Point, although his only son was at that instant lying dead in the house; and he was forced to compliance.

Nothing, however, could shake the firmness of his soul—oppression might drive the iron into it, but could not weaken its integrity. Threats and temptations were alternately used, but in vain. To Major Money of the British army, he wrote in the following bold and eloquent strain. "I entered into this cause after reflection, and through principle. My heart is altogether American, and neither severity, nor favor, nor poverty, nor affluence, can ever induce me to swerve from it." To Captain McMahon, another British officer, he emphatically says, "The freedom and independence of my country are the Gods of my idolatry."

It was during this period that the discussion between Major Barry, of the British army, and himself occurred on some points relating to the exchange of prisoners. Barry having quoted Grotius in support of his side of the question, General PINCKNEY promptly declared, that the opinions of that great jurist were in direct opposition to what had been stated. Reference was made to the author, when Major Barry was obliged to confess his error, lamenting "that he had not studied the passage with his usual accuracy."

At length he received the intelligence of his exchange, when it was too late to be of much value to him, in a letter from General McIntosh, dated at Philadelphia, 19th February, 1782. The war was then really at an end by the capture of Lord Cornwallis. Soon after he was raised to brevet rank as Brigadier; his commission is dated at Princeton, 1783, General Lincoln then acting as Secretary at War. On the return of peace, General PINCKNEY resumed the practice of law, his fortune having been much impaired. Time and casualties had swept away most of the old and learned members of the bar. He found in their place a new set of young men, clever, but of imperfect education—the war having broken the regular course of study. He, with a few more, might have ruled as monarchs of the bar; but his generous spirit disdained to profit by the weakness of others. He preferred to introduce a simple, liberal, and intelligible mode of prac-

tice, stripping off all useless subtleties and technical rules, and endeavoured to make the profession what it should be, enlightened and honorable in the eyes of the community. His business was large, and its profits commensurate,—reaching in one year the amount of four thousand guineas, a considerable sum for that day. A nice sense of honor made him discriminate in his cases, and it was not every one that offered, that he would take. He never forgot the injunction of his venerable father, to which his own generous heart involuntarily responded, to be the friend of the widow and the fatherless. From these he never would take compensation; and he carried into his profession the spirit of chivalry itself, which he exhibited on one remarkable occasion, and to which the writer of this sketch is not at liberty to do more than to allude. During this period he was more than once solicited by General Washington to enter into his cabinet. He was offered a place on the Supreme Bench; then the post of Secretary at War, as the successor of General Knox; afterwards that of Secretary of State, on the removal of Mr. Randolph. He steadily and consistently, for reasons satisfactory to his own mind, declined these honors, and stated finally in reply, "That whenever the President should call him to the performance of any public duty, to which private considerations ought to yield, and should say to him 'that he must accept,' all private obligations should cease."

This pledge he redeemed by accepting the mission to France, which General Washington, in a letter from Mount Vernon, July 8th, 1796, pressed on him in language that did honor to both. On this occasion his characteristic energy and decision was manifested. In a very few days after having notified his acceptance of the appointment, he embarked for Philadelphia and thence for Bordeaux. He arrived in Paris the 5th day of December; but on the way had to submit to the national *welcome* of the Poissardes, who, a post and a half from the city, stopped his carriage, and opening the door, insisted on the American ambassador's giving them the fraternal embrace.

On the next day he transmitted, by his Secretary of Legation, Major Henry Rutledge, to Mr. Monroe, his letters of recal; and a few days afterwards made his first and only visit to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur De La Croix, whose reception of him was cold and inauspicious.

The Directory had already determined not to receive him as minister of the United States, and accordingly Monsieur De La Croix addressed a note to Mr. Monroe, with whom the French government was still in correspondence, in these terms:—"The Directory has

charged me to notify you, that it will not acknowledge nor receive another Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States until after the redress of the grievances demanded of the American government." This official insult, which must have been galling in the extreme, was borne with a serenity and dignity of mind that proved him fit to be an ambassador.

General PINCKNEY's sound judgment warned him, that on the very threshold of his embassy, prudence and duty both required that he should show the temper of forbearance. The interests of his country, her attachment, and proper feeling of gratitude towards an ancient ally, whose powerful arm had stretched across the Atlantic, and supported her in the dark hour of trial—all united to impress upon him the strongest disposition for peace. The moment had not yet arrived for him to vindicate his own high courage and the American people, in that noble sentiment which afterwards burst from his lips, and has become familiar as our household words.

"MILLIONS FOR DEFENCE, NOT A CENT FOR TRIBUTE."

The position of General PINCKNEY in the French capital was critical, and was well calculated to fill him with anxiety. He thus speaks of it in a letter to Colonel Pickering—"My situation, as you may easily conceive, is unpleasant; but if I can ultimately render any services to my country, I shall be fully compensated: at all events it shall be my study to avoid increasing the discontent of this government, without committing the honor, dignity, and respect, due to my own."

On the 5th of February, after being two months in Paris, he left it by an order from the Directory, having, by his patience and firmness, finally compelled them to address a note to himself, of which the following is an extract:—"Le Directoire executif Monsieur m'a chargé de vous faire savoir que n'ayant point obtenu de permission particulier, pour resider à Paris vous etes soumis à la loi qui oblige les etrangers à quitter le territoire de la Republique."

DE LA CROIX.

General PINCKNEY having obtained what he desired in this peremptory mandate, immediately left the territory of France, and retired to Holland to await the instructions of the American government. President Washington empowered Judge Marshall and Elbridge Gerry to join General PINCKNEY in Holland, and forthwith proceed with him to Paris; and there, as Envoys Extraordinary, endeavor to settle all existing difficulties. Success did not follow this new and sincere effort towards reconciliation. Our limits forbid enlarging on

this portion of General PINCKNEY's diplomatic career. It is sufficient to remark, that it was satisfactory to the government and the country. His colleague, General Marshall, and himself, returned to the United States, leaving Mr. Gerry in France, who, as it appears from the correspondence of the day, was persuaded to this step by citizen Talleyrand, for the purpose of conducting a separate negotiation between the two nations. President Adams, however, did not sanction this conduct on the part of Gerry, and he received a positive letter of recal from the Secretary of State, dated Jan. 25, 1798.

The spirit of the nation was now justly excited, and when General PINCKNEY arrived in America, he found the tone of public sentiment strong for hostilities. On the 12th of October, 1798, he landed at Paulus Hook, where he was received by a large concourse of citizens, who greeted him with enthusiastic cheers. The yellow fever was then raging in New-York, and he was compelled to proceed to the town of Newark with his family. He there received a letter from James McHenry, dated October 17th, 1798, enclosing his commission as a Major-general in the army of the United States, which was being put on the war establishment. It contained the following well-merited and just compliment to his patriotism: "The readiness you have expressed to accept of your appointment, after so long an absence from home and your private affairs, is extremely satisfactory; and will, I am sure, be fully estimated by the President and your country."

When President Adams appointed Washington to the command of the army, he also left to his judgment the selection of the other superior officers. The appointment, therefore, of General PINCKNEY is another strong proof of the continued friendship and confidence of Washington in his patriotism and abilities. The relative rank of the Major-generals stood thus: Washington—Alexander Hamilton—CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY—Henry Knox. Hamilton, during the war of the Revolution, was the junior of General PINCKNEY. This circumstance being pointed out to him by a gentleman of his acquaintance, who laid much stress on the injustice and partiality of this preference, General PINCKNEY gave this memorable reply, worthy of a Themistocles or a Scipio:—"I am confident that General Washington had sufficient reasons for this preference. Let us first dispose of our enemies, we shall then have leisure to settle the question of rank."

Hostilities did not break out, and he once more retired to the calm and elegant enjoyments of a home, of which his social powers and polished manners formed one of the most graceful ornaments.

It is fact well understood, that if General PINCKNEY, in the year 1800, when the great struggle of parties happened, could have consented to unite his name with that of Mr. Jefferson, he would have been either President or Vice President of the United States. But, true to himself, true to his principles, consistent in all things, he would not, even to win the first office in the gift of the people, and gratify the inclination of his native State, agree to a measure that might seem to compromise his integrity. General PINCKNEY was a member of the enlightened assembly that formed the Constitution of the United States. Again his was one of the leading minds in the *State* Convention that framed the Constitution of 1790.

In the South Carolina State Convention of 1778 he exhibited not only very vigorous, but likewise liberal powers of mind. He forcibly and successfully sustained, in that convention, a proposition of the Rev. William Tennant to secure liberty and equality to all Protestant sects; and as he was a strict Episcopalian, it is but just to infer that he acted or argued from conviction, and not indifference. The uniform respect with which he treated the clergy of all denominations endeared him to them; and is evinced in the fact, that Christians of every sect united in choosing him the first President of the Bible Society of Charleston, and they continued him in that honorable station for fifteen years, to the period of his death.

General PINCKNEY was a considerable landholder in the city of Charleston. He had numerous tenants living on his property, and to all of them he was forbearing and compassionate; often submitting to the loss of his just dues rather than resort to the rigors of the law. Indeed, his benevolence was of the most enlarged character, and was experienced not only by the poor, and such as were dependent on him, but in his liberal support of churches, seminaries of learning, and every object of public utility. His hospitality was unbounded, and was of that princely sort, that it did honor to South Carolina. How many foreigners, how many Americans, are now living to whom such a reminiscence ought to be familiar? His conversation was singularly instructive and amusing, for he had both seen and thought much; and the ease and frankness of his manners invited the approach of all who chose to participate in its pleasures. His own library was extensive; but the valuable collection of his father, together with many manuscripts and interesting family documents, were burnt by the army of General Provost at a country-seat near Charleston, at the time of his forced march on the city—a loss which General PINCKNEY oftentimes lamented. His appetite for reading was great. No-

thing in the shape of a book escaped his attention. He read from the moment he arose in the morning; that is, a page or a few sentences at a time, while he walked about his chamber and dressed; his intellect was constantly exercised.

General PINCKNEY, as he advanced in life, applied himself to the sciences—Chemistry and Botany became his favorite pursuits; and such was his thirst for knowledge, that, while on his embassy to France, he seized that opportunity of listening to the lectures of the celebrated Fourcroy. At his country residence (Pinckney Island, a most enchanting spot) he had an apartment fitted up as a laboratory, containing an excellent Philosophical apparatus; and there he amused himself during several hours of every morning in winter.

In person General PINCKNEY did not exceed the ordinary stature. His form was round, muscular, and closely knit; and admirably constructed for exercise and durability. His countenance was marked, and highly expressive of almost every variety of emotion; but in repose, particularly towards the close of his life, it wore the character of majesty; and no one could look upon it without feeling the inspiration of the profoundest veneration.

If the eye, as has been beautifully said, be the mirror of the soul, in *his* might have been clearly read—courage—benevolence—honor—truth; and, indeed, all these were the predominant qualities illustrated in his life. No man ever enjoyed in a higher degree the confidence of his fellow-citizens. His acknowledged gallantry of spirit—his disdain of all selfish, narrow, and dishonorable conduct—his public and private munificence—his readiness at all times to maintain the common-weal, and those great principles of constitutional liberty for which he had fought and suffered so much, endeared him to all men; and during the bitter conflicts of party, like the bright and impenetrable helmet of Minerva, preserved his head from every hostile touch.

Such is the brief and imperfect narrative of the *career* of this wise and virtuous man, who was honored in his generation, and is now gratefully remembered by posterity. General PINCKNEY was twice married. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of Henry Middleton, second President of Congress. Of this marriage three daughters survived him. The second wife was a descendant of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, one of the Proprietory Governors of South Carolina. She died without children. General PINCKNEY expired in Charleston on the 16th August 1825, with the fortitude of a Christian philosopher, in his eightieth year. J. L.

Thomas Pinckney

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

The early years of Major-general Thomas Pinckney were passed with his brother, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the subject of the preceding sketch; and, in addition to the facts which we have imbodied in that memoir, it will be only necessary to say, that Thomas was born at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of October, 1750; and consequently was only three years old when taken to England by his father. Like his brother, he made good use of his time and opportunities for improvement, and after nearly twenty years of absence returned to his native land full of patriotic ardor.

He was still engaged in his professional studies in London, when the first notes of hostile preparation against his country were sounded; he immediately abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted his whole attention to the acquisition of military knowledge, by which he afterward distinguished himself in the Revolutionary army. His military services were put in requisition very soon after his return to Charleston; and according to the statement of Major Garden, the rudiments of discipline were first taught by him to the infantry of the South Carolina line. On the formation of the two Provincial regiments in 1775, he was appointed to the command of a company, and soon after rose to the rank of Major. He had the reputation of an able tactician and a rigid disciplinarian. Of his firmness and decision of character, he gave the following very unequivocal proof. At an early period of the war, a mutiny having broken out in his regiment, the officers attempted to suppress it by persuasion and remonstrance, which were succeeded by upbraidings and menaces. Major Pinckney walked deliberately into the midst of the mutineers, and with his sabre cut down the ringleader. Order and subordination were immediately restored.

When General Lincoln took command of the Southern army, Major Pinckney was appointed one of his aids, and acted in that capacity with the Count D'Estaing at the siege of Savannah. At the

attack on the enemy's works at Stono, in June, 1779, Major PINCKNEY gained great applause for his gallant conduct in the field, where the battalion, to which he was attached, charged two companies of the 71st British regiment, and so completely routed them at the point of the bayonet, that only nine men were able to take shelter within their lines. At the siege of Savannah, while superintending the construction of a redoubt, a shell from the enemy fell into the ditch and burst. Major PINCKNEY and Colonel D'Oyley were blinded with dust and covered with dirt; but the Major, without changing his position, or being in the least discomposed, calmly observed, "I think, D'Oyley, that must have been very near us," and then continued to press on the work with great animation. When the assault on the town was determined on, Major PINCKNEY led one of the assailing columns, but was repulsed. Great confusion among the troops ensued, and all, who could, pressed forward to avoid the destructive fire that poured upon their rear. Major PINCKNEY hastened to the front of his soldiers, and commanded them to halt. "Success, my brave fellows," he exclaimed, "though richly merited, has not crowned your exertions; yet do not disgrace yourselves by precipitate flight, and, though repulsed, quit the field like soldiers." Order was restored, and the regiment regained their encampment with deliberate steps.

At the disastrous battle of Camden on the 16th of August, 1780, Major PINCKNEY, acting as Aid-de-camp to General Gates, had his leg shattered by a musket ball, and fell into the hands of the enemy. When sufficiently recovered to be removed, he was sent as a prisoner of war to Philadelphia.

In 1787 he succeeded General Moultrie as Governor of South Carolina, and was eminently successful in re-establishing the authority of the laws, which had been in a great measure dormant during the war.

He received from President Washington, in 1792, the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James. The duties which devolved upon him during his residence in London were attended with circumstances which required the exercise of great delicacy and prudence, with vigilance and firmness. It will be recollected, that at that time some of the provisions of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States remained unfulfilled. The war which arose out of the French Revolution, and very soon involved nearly all the European powers, exposed the commerce of the Union to many embarrassments from the belligerents, who strove to injure and annoy each other without regard to the rights of neu-

tral nations. The neutrality of the United States was regarded with jealousy by each of the great contending powers. Neutrality, indeed, was offensive to both, and each strove to involve our country in the war. But it was the settled policy of Washington's administration to preserve a *strict* neutrality, and to favor neither of the belligerents. There was an undoubted inclination, however, on the part of a majority of the people of the United States, to arrange themselves on the side of France; and the British government soon became aware of that fact, and adapted their measures to the expected result, which their power on the ocean enabled them to render exceedingly vexatious. France being unable any longer to import the productions of her colonies in her own ships, the carrying trade on the Atlantic chiefly fell into the hands of the American merchants; but that was very soon interfered with by the orders of the British government to their cruisers. The practice of impressing men from American ships for the British navy, began also, about this time, to be a cause of serious complaint; and a renewal of hostilities seemed inevitable. But the conduct of Republican France was equally unfriendly and offensive; and, considering the probable tendency of her great adversary's measures, far more impolitic. Still the President remained firm in his purpose of maintaining the neutrality of the United States until the aggressions of foreign powers should clearly render neutrality incompatible with honor. He therefore determined to make one more effort with each of the great contending powers, that should either remove all cause of quarrel or demonstrate the necessity of war. He accordingly communicated to the Senate of the United States the despatches, which, in the beginning of the year 1794, had been received from Major PINCKNEY at London, and on the 16th of April nominated Mr. Jay as Envoy Extraordinary to his Britannic Majesty.

While Major PINCKNEY was Minister at London, he was instructed to seize every proper occasion to express the interest taken by the President in the fate of La Fayette, who was then a prisoner in Germany; but his unofficial communications to the Austrian Minister in London, and his endeavors to obtain the mediation of the British government, were alike unavailing.

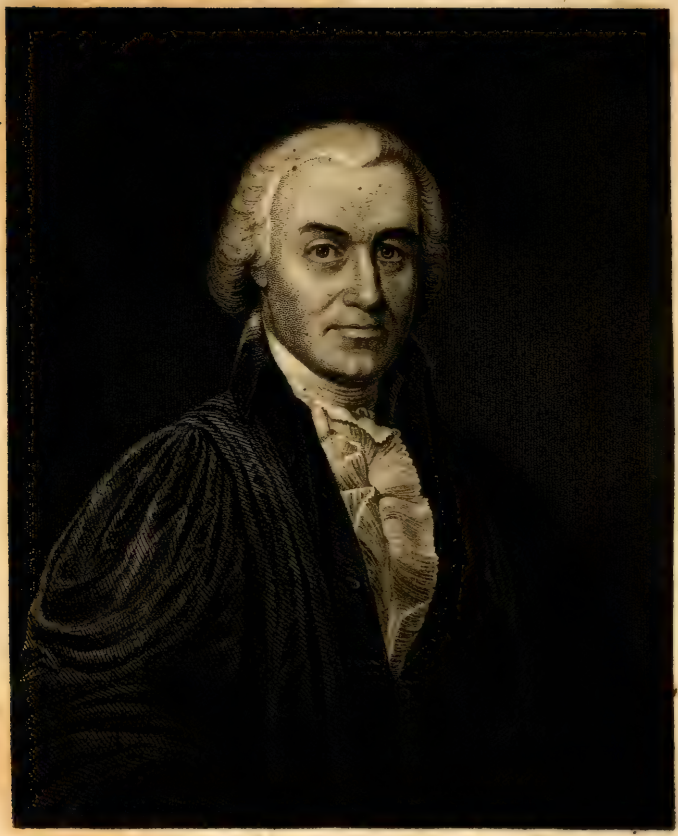
In November of the same year, Major PINCKNEY was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to his Catholic Majesty, and repaired, in the Summer of 1795, to Madrid. On the 20th of October following, he concluded a treaty, which settled the controversy with Spain respecting boundary, and secured the free navigation of the Mississippi. In

the following year his private affairs requiring his presence at home, he was recalled at his own solicitation, and returned to Carolina; where he was received with the most grateful evidences of the regard and affection of his fellow-citizens. He afterward served a few sessions in Congress, as a representative from Charleston district, and then retired to private life.

When the despatches from our envoys to France in 1798 reached this country, detailing the hostility of the Directory, and the humiliating proposition of tribute, and the indignities which had been offered to Generals C. C. Pinckney and Marshall, and Mr. Gerry; President Adams proposed to prevent their immediate publication, lest further insults might follow, as those gentlemen were still in Paris. But on consulting Major PINCKNEY, he gave a decided opinion that they ought to be made public without delay, that the people might have a perfect knowledge of the insulting conduct of the French Directory. "And, Sir," he added, "if the situation of my brother causes you to hesitate, I speak for him, as I know he would for me, were I similarly circumstanced. The glory of our country is at stake. Individual sufferings must not be regarded. Be the event what it may, life is nothing compared with the honor of America."

After the lapse of several years, which had been devoted to the education of his children and the improvement of his estate, the veteran was once more called by his country to the field. At the commencement of the war of 1812, President Madison appointed him to the command of the Southern army. It was under his command that the Indian war, in which General Jackson distinguished himself, was undertaken and successfully terminated. He very early discerned the talents of General Jackson, and recommended him to the War department for the command of a separate district, to be formed out of his own, which extended from North Carolina to the Mississippi, and which he considered entirely too large for one command. By thus opening a field for the free exercise of the skill and enterprise of General Jackson, he advanced the interest and honor of his country, and the war was closed by one of the most brilliant victories that adorn the annals of any nation.

On the return of peace he resigned his commission, and declined all further public employment. From that period his attention was given to various scientific improvements in agriculture, and to the cultivation of social intercourse amongst a very extensive circle of relatives and friends. He died on the 2d of November, 1828, after a lingering and painful illness.



Oliv Ellsworth

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

No country has been so distinguished as our own by the number and prominence of its self-made men. In science, they have been her pioneers, disarming even the lightning of its terror; in prosperity, they have been the guardians of her dearest treasures; in the hour of danger they have gathered, as the Macedonian phalanx, to her side.

The subject of this memoir was not born in obscurity, or compelled to struggle with poverty and ignorance on his passage to renown. Yet he was strictly of that number who, in the "baptism of fame, have given themselves their own name;" and for whom industry and internal resource have stood in the place of parentage and of patrimony.

He sprang, as have many of our mightiest and noblest, from the hardy yeomanry of New England. If he was indebted to education for his greatness, he was still more indebted to patient labor; as the firmly-rooted oak owes less to culture, than to its power of enduring those changes of climate which roughen its trunk but reveal its energy.

Oliver Ellsworth was born in Windsor, one of the most anciently settled towns in Connecticut, on the 29th of April, 1745, of respectable parents, inured to the pursuits of agriculture. From them he derived the virtues of industry, economy, and integrity, which were incorporated with the elements of his character. He derived also physical benefits from a system of nurture which rejected all luxurious indulgence. Of him it might be said, as it was of Chief Justice Marshall, that "his health was invigorated by the athletic exercises to which his father inured him." Perhaps, also, from some sternness of parental discipline, which was often a feature of these early times, his mind drew a portion of its Spartan firmness. His boyhood was so divided between agricultural toils and classical studies, as to impress the invaluable lessons of the worth of time and the necessity of application.

At the age of seventeen he entered Yale College, whence he afterwards removed to Princeton, and received there his honorary degree at the completion of his twenty-first year. It is not known that his academic course exhibited any remarkable superiority. Precocity was not a feature of his mind. The slow ripening of its powers betokened a deep root and long-continued harvest.

After terminating his collegiate studies, he engaged in the instruction of youth, that most honorable employment to which so many of our greatest men have for a time devoted themselves. Though surrounded by gay companions, he was enabled to resist their influence, and make choice of that piety which was to be his guide on the slippery heights of honor, and his strength amid the feebleness of hoary hairs. It laid its strong foundation at that momentous period when youth is most tempted to contend with the restrictions of morality and to forget God. His clear-sighted and majestic mind acknowledged the truth of revelation, and humbled itself at the foot of the cross with child-like simplicity. His public profession of a Christian's faith, made when religion was less fashionable than it is at present, gave proof of that fearless integrity in duty which is an element of true greatness. He had a predilection for Theology, and made respectable progress in its preparatory studies; but ultimately decided on the profession of law.

His marriage was early in life, and the result of mutual attachment. The lady, who was of the highly-respected family of the Wolcotts, by her unwearied and judicious attention to domestic care, left his mind at liberty for higher departments. They became the parents of nine children, six of whom still survive, connected with the aristocracy of their native State.

At the commencement of his household establishment, he found himself thrown upon his own resources. A farm of wild land in the parish of Wintonbury, and an axe, were the gifts of his father, with the understanding that they completed his full moiety of the paternal estate. But as the shield given by the Spartan mothers to their sons, with the charge, "return *with* it or return *upon* it," enkindled an indomitable courage; so the consciousness of entire self-dependence awoke a spirit which was to conquer all obstacles. In those rough preliminary toils, by which land is cleared and subjected to cultivation, he performed the service of a day-laborer, and at night pursued those studies by which his future eminence was to be attained. The materials with which the fences of his farm were to be constructed he wrought with his own hands from the trees that grew upon it, nor re-

mitted this branch of labor until it was completely enclosed. With hands swollen by unaccustomed effort, and painful from the wounds of thorns with which he contended, he came every morning during the session of the courts, to Hartford, returning at night to take charge of his cattle, and to sustain the imperative duties of an agriculturist. In this union of differing and difficult professions he evinced great mental vigor and physical endurance. It is impossible to view the future Chief Justice of the United States at this period of his existence without peculiar and touching interest. At dawn, like Cincinnatus, at his plough, and at eve laying his hand on the mighty fabric of jurisprudence, as if, like the chosen people, he followed the "pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night."

It would seem that no ambition of distinction had at this time stimulated his career. Perhaps his mind was not fully aware of its own Herculean powers. Its moving principle had been the simple consciousness of duty,—a desire to provide for a growing family, and to be found faithful in the stewardship of entrusted time and talents.

During a period of extreme exertion, while sustaining a difficult cause at the bar in Hartford, he received a new incentive—the voice of praise. "Who is that young man? He speaks well." These were the words of a stranger. They sank into his heart. As he went homeward, he ruminated upon them. "*He speaks well.*" It was a new idea to him. Vanity was not inherent to an intellect of his order, but the sweetness of merited praise came when it began to be needed as an encouragement on its arduous course. Of this incident he spoke, even in his latest years, to his children. It would be interesting, were it possible to discover who thus touched with electric spark that mighty mind, and aided in developing its latent force.

The increase of his business imposed the necessity of a removal to Hartford. There he received the lucrative office of States' attorney, and was yearly elected representative to the general assembly. At the commencement of the war of the Revolution he took firm ground in favor of the independence of the country. He even went out with the militia of the county when incursions were made by the enemy into his native State. This he did, not from any complacency in military life, but to show his approbation of the cause for which resistance was hazarded. In 1777 he was chosen a delegate to Congress; in 1784 a Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut; and in 1789 a senator of the United States, under their new confederation. His talents as a man, and his learning as a jurist, were now put in strict requisition for the public good. The system of policy which he advocated was

dignified and consistent. Avoidance of useless expenditure, prompt execution of the laws, an open and severe simplicity, were its distinguishing features. The regimen that promotes the health of republics was well understood by him. It was the same which, as an individual, he had pursued with safety and success.

His mind had the capacity of intense and stern application. Never was this more fully tested than during those seven years when he filled a seat in the senate of the United States. So deep was his love of country, that when any important point, involving her interests, was in discussion, he has been known to pass the whole night traversing his chamber, and repelling sleep, until he had possessed himself of the subject in all its bearings. With such forgetfulness of self did he tax his energies, that after the termination of such questions he would be left exhausted, as after some extreme physical exertion.

It was remarked, that from these labors in the senate his mind evidently gained breadth and expansion. As the period of his continuance there extended beyond his fiftieth year, an argument is thus obtained to disprove the theory that rigidity settles upon intellect as upon the muscles, and that age may limit its improvement as easily as to chain the limbs from their elastic play.

In the spring of 1796 he received the appointment of Chief Justice of the United States. It was the universal suffrage of the nation that there was in him a fitness for the high honor of a place in that body, which, like the ancient Ephori, lifted the supremacy of the law above all other symbols of earthly majesty. In the discharge of the duties of this elevated station he displayed an immoveable patience, and a judgment of men and things matured by long experience. His clear conceptions of right and wrong were never confused by a heated imagination or morbid feelings. He was slow in arriving at the truth, but in his decisions inflexible. His impartiality won the confidence of all; and throughout his whole judicial career, his integrity remained untarnished and above suspicion.

It was with reluctance that the nation saw him about to be withdrawn from a post where she was hourly deriving benefits from his wisdom, to assume the office of ambassador to France. But a crisis in our political intercourse with that kingdom, involving danger of hostilities, required peculiar skill in negotiation, and he was appointed, in conjunction with Governor Davie of North Carolina, and the Hon. William V. Murray, then resident minister at the Hague. This was a nomination which he would not have desired; and though his patriotism induced him to acquiesce, it was at an expense of health from

which he never fully recovered. Physical infirmities, which before his departure had revealed themselves, became confirmed by the hardships of a protracted voyage and the fatigues of foreign travel, into incurable diseases.

It was at the close of the year 1799 that he took passage to Europe. He found the government of France, then under the consulship of Bonaparte, unsettled and fluctuating. Duplicity and intrigue gave coloring to its diplomacy. His upright mind, severe in rectitude, found there little congeniality. Its earnestness for the right, and its strict morality, were even marked as traits of imbecility, by a cabinet whose pole-star was expediency.

After concluding the business entrusted to him, he passed over into England, and experienced high gratification from a view of that glorious island, and an acquaintance with its illustrious men. He was accompanied on his travels in Europe by his eldest son, a promising youth, whose unremitting devotion to his collegiate studies had seriously impaired his health. It was difficult, even by the excitement and novelty of foreign cities, to divert his attention from books. He received, therefore, but slight benefit from change of scene; and his death, which took place soon after his return, while making trial of the more genial climate of the West Indies, was a deep affliction to the affectionate father.

An incident connected with his return from Europe, shows the place that religion habitually held in his soul. He had resigned the office of Chief Justice of the United States, that he might devote the remainder of his life to that retirement and domestic tranquillity from which he had been so long an exile. His arrival at his home was therefore anticipated with an eagerness proportioned to his long absence, and to the cheering hope of retaining him there. At his beautiful mansion in Windsor all was joyful expectancy. His children listened to the echo of every approaching wheel, and saddened at perceiving that it had not brought their father. At length his own carriage was indeed descried. The whole family group hastened forth to welcome him. Wife, and son, and daughter, and servant born in his house, were there. It was a thrilling moment. The profound statesman, whose wealth and fame had been purchased by no sacrifice of virtue, wearied with those services which had rendered his name illustrious, was coming to share the repose of his native shades, and to be parted from them no more. He alighted from his carriage. But he spoke not to his wife. He returned not the embrace of his children. He glanced not even at his twin boys, the youngest of that beloved circle.

Leaning over his gate, and covering his face, he first silently breathed a prayer of gratitude to that Being who gave him once more to see his habitation in safety and in peace. He took not the full cup of joy that was pressed to his lips until it had been hallowed by devotion, until he had humbly, yet openly, acknowledged the God who had "led him all his life long, to that day.

His resolution to abstain from all public service in future, he found it impossible perfectly to preserve. The urgent solicitations of the people, combining with a patriotism which never slumbered, induced him, in 1802, to accept the office of member of the Council of Connecticut, in which he continued till his death. In 1807 he received the appointment of Chief Justice of his native State; but his increasing infirmities led him to decline the offered honor.

The leisure to which he had been for many years a stranger, enabled him to cultivate domestic enjoyment, and to recur, as an occasional amusement, to agricultural occupation. His ardent affections found delight in the society of his children. The love of children had always been one of his prominent traits of character. From the chicanery and selfishness of mankind, he turned with renewed pleasure to their simplicity. It was remarked of him in early life, that when deeply engaged in those absorbing studies which afterwards won for him fortune and renown, he daily spent some time in caressing his neighbor's children. He even seemed disappointed when any circumstance prevented this accustomed intercourse. Though there were long periods in which he was compelled to seclude himself from the pleasures of the domestic circle, yet he would sometimes permit his own little ones to enter his study when occupied in the severest toils of thought, and draw pictures for their amusement. "I like to indulge them in this way," he observed; "and when it is necessary to deny them, I send them to their mother."

As they advanced in age, their improvement, and the formation of their habits, were felt by him in their full importance. The incalculable worth of time, the duty of industry, the folly of extravagance, the necessity of rectitude and piety, were impressed both by precept and example. In his letters, when absent from them, his rules for conduct and principle were expressed with striking adaptation to their difference of age or character. His family letters, notwithstanding the magnitude and pressure of public business, were exhibitions of correct and beautiful chirography. In one of these, addressed to his wife, while a senator in the first Congress convened at New-York, in 1789, he says:—

"The family in which I live have no white children. But I often amuse myself with a colored one about the size of our little daughter, who peeps into my door now and then, with a long story, which I cannot more than half understand. Our two sons I sometimes fancy that I pick out among the little boys playing at marbles in the street. Our eldest daughter is, I trust, alternately employed, between her book and her wheel. *You* must teach her what is useful, *the world* will teach her enough of what is not. The nameless little one I am hardly enough acquainted with to have much idea of; yet I think she occupies a corner of my heart, especially when I consider her at your breast."

Alluding to the death of an infant, several years after the event had taken place, he says, in a letter to his wife:—"He who bore your countenance and my name—the world has never been the same to me since his death."

These traits of household tenderness are peculiarly delightful in great men. Perhaps we unconsciously associate with them some idea of sternness, and are cheered when we find them linked to our common nature by its gentler sympathies. In tracing to their familiar sources the warm current of his affections, we find that neither the toils of an absorbing profession, the tumults of political life, nor the cares of greatness, made him insensible to the enjoyments of the fireside, indifferent to the innocent sports of infancy, or regardless of the humble happiness of childhood.

His long intercourse with men of education and rank created no contempt for the rustic society and conversation of a retired country village. He knew how to demean himself to men of low degree. His was that simple moral greatness, which never fears to demean itself by association with inferiors. He especially pitied those in a state of servitude. He treated them with a kindness and sympathy that won their confidence without diminishing their respect. He felt that in a republic the grades of distinction ought not to be jealously defined. His dignity had no need of the petty props of haughtiness and reserve.

Mingled with his high intellectual endowments, was a clear and direct common sense. This kept him from mistake in the every-day affairs of life, where sometimes the greatest men have been so much at a loss, as to subject themselves to the scoffs of the vulgar, and even to bring greatness into disrepute among the multitude. He was thoroughly and practically acquainted with many of those details which wealth seldom understands and often despises. This was remarked with wonder during his tour through the southern States. There, in

the court-yard of a public house, when the stage-coach had sustained same injury, the inquiry was once made, "Who is that gentleman who understands every thing, and is *eloquent about a coach-wheel?*" "The Chief Justice of the United States," was the reply.

His example before his household was calculated to impress the importance of that religion which he revered and loved. Guests occasionally present at their morning and evening devotions, were solemnized by the fervor and sublimity of his prayers. He inculcated on all under his roof a reverence for the sabbath; and was in the habit of gathering them around him, and reading them a sermon, in addition to the public worship of the day. During the changes of an eventful life, the fluctuations of revolution, the interruptions incidental to high office, the gaiety of the court of France, and the desultory habits imposed by foreign travel, he never overlooked the sacred obligation of the sabbath, or shunned to give infidelity a "reason for the hope that was in him."

As he approached the close of life, the Inspired Volume, which had from youth been his guide and counsellor, became more and more dear. Like a new book, it revealed to him unknown treasures. It was both affecting and sublime, to see one who had attained such eminence in the knowledge of human laws, sitting at the feet of the Supreme Lawgiver with the docility of a child. Day and night, while he stood on the verge of a higher existence, did his soul, disengaging itself from earthly things, search the scriptures of truth with solemnity and delight. His last illness was sustained with the fortitude of a Christian; and his death took place on the 26th of November, 1807, in the sixty-third year of his age.

In contemplating his elevated character, we are struck with the prominence of high and inflexible rectitude, and of that patriotism which, forgetful of self, firmly endured toil and sustained privation. What was said of his excellent friend, Roger Sherman, might with equal propriety be affirmed of him—that his "actions, whether public or private, were attended by the secret interrogatory, *what course is right?* and that he never once propounded to himself the question, *will it be popular?*" He has also been heard to assert, that in youth he took Sherman for his model; and the elder President Adams remarked, in his sententious manner, that "*this was praise enough for both.*" Let it also be added, as a part of the fame of Judge Ellsworth, that his pure principles, and the wisdom which regulated his political course, won for him both the praise and friendship of Washington.

The structure of his mind was lofty and well-balanced. His eloquence rested on the basis of the reasoning powers. It aimed not to dazzle, but to convince. It has been pronounced deficient in the graces of imagination. But the devotion with which he embraced that majestic and severe science, which takes cognizance of man in his capacity of "impeding or being impeded;" which demands dexterity to untwist the spider-web of invention, strength to strike and wisdom to arrest those ideas of justice which come "only as the lightning flash amid the storm of human passions," scarcely comports with the play of fancy or the luxury of leisure. The department of imagination was therefore in him uncultivated. Thought, accustomed, like the laborer, to split the "unwedgeable and knotty oak," could not stoop to trim the vine or to train the flower. In his mind the sentiment of the beautiful was overpowered by combinations derived from the useful and the just. But the *truth* that philosophy seeks, and the *faith* that Christianity imposes, held ever their high places in his soul.

We perceive in him a predominance of those virtues which give permanence to republics—indefatigable industry, opposition to luxury and extravagance, contempt of show and pretension, inflexible integrity, respect for men of low degree, love of country, and fear of God. His was the intellectual and moral power that would have arrested heterogeneous and fluctuating particles, and settled them into order and durability.

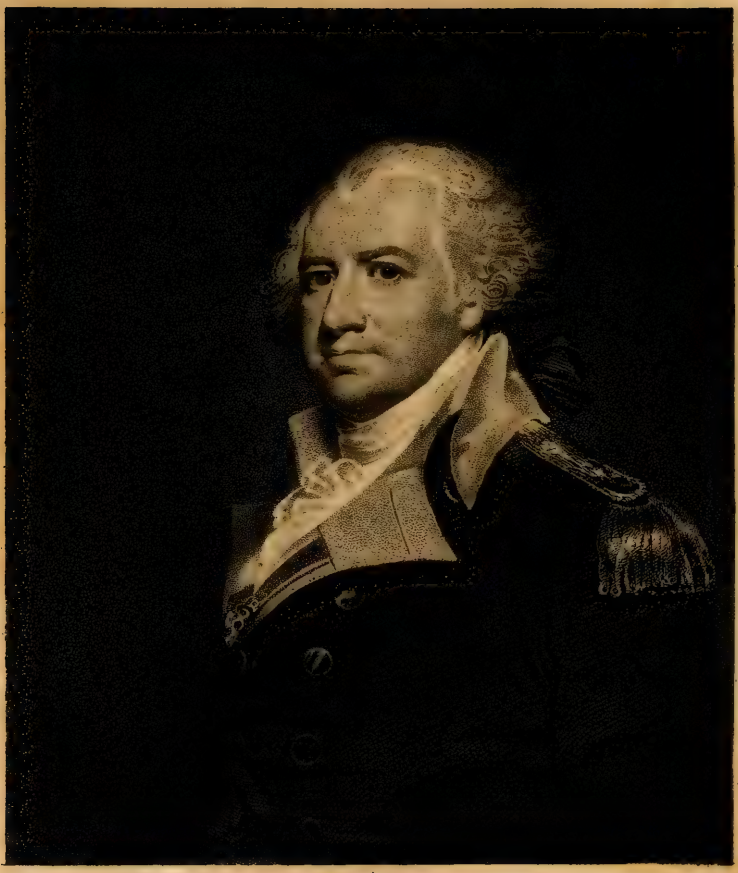
Educate a race with his principles and habits, and let *them* determine the question, whether a republic is a form of government intrinsically and necessarily perishable.

The name of Oliver Ellsworth, by every succeeding generation in this land of freedom, should be held venerable and dear; coupled with the memory of our early liberties, and with the virtues that preserve them.

It will not be inapposite to close this brief sketch with the inscription on his monument, from the pen of his valued friend, the late Chauncey Goodrich, Governor of the State of Connecticut:

To the Memory of
Oliver Ellsworth, LL.D.
An assistant in the Council, and
a Judge of the Superior Court
of the State of Connecticut;
A member of the Convention which formed,
and of the State Convention of Connecticut which adopted

the Constitution of the United States:
Senator, and Chief Justice of the United States;
One of the Envoys Extraordinary, and
Ministers Plenipotentiary,
who made the Convention of 1801,
between the United States and the French Republic.
Amiable and exemplary
in all the relations of the domestic, social, and Christian character.
Pre-eminently useful
in all the elevated offices he sustained;
Whose great talents,
under the guidance of inflexible integrity,
consummate wisdom,
and enlightened zeal,
employed in his country's cause and service,
placed him among the first of the illustrious statesmen
who achieved the Independence,
and established the Government of the American Republic;
reflecting lustre
on the character of his native State,
and of the United States.
Born at Windsor, on the 29th of April, 1745:
and there died,
on the 26th of November, 1807.
Conjugal affection and filial piety
have erected this monument.



Engraved by I. Weimar from a Painting by C. Fraser in possession of G. M. Dallas Esq^r

Thos McKean

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Thomas Mifflin was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1744. His ancestors were of the society of *Friends*, and among the earliest settlers of Pennsylvania, and of the most respectable class. He was a graduate in the college of Philadelphia, and was distinguished for scholarship and genius. He ever afterwards retained a fondness for classical literature, and was well acquainted with the best writers. He was intended by his parents for a merchant, and, after leaving college, was placed in one of the first counting houses in the city. He subsequently made a voyage to Europe, and on his return entered into business with one of his brothers. His gay and generous temper, his extraordinary powers of conversation, with his frank and popular manners, made him, at a very early age, a decided favorite with his fellow-citizens. The city of Philadelphia was at that time represented in the state legislature by two burgesses, annually elected by the people. As the difficulties with the mother country were becoming serious and threatening, it was particularly important to advance to places of high public trust, men whose patriotic principles could be relied upon; and whose knowledge, talents, and force of character qualified them to serve the country faithfully and efficiently in the impending danger. Thomas Mifflin was elected in 1772, although but twenty-eight years of age, as one of the burgesses to represent the city in the general assembly of the state. Two years afterwards he was appointed one of the delegates from the state to the first congress.

The occasion now occurred to call forth, and exhibit to advantage, his peculiar talents. No man of our country has excelled him in the fire, energy, and effect of his addresses to an assembly of the people. There was an earnest,—a fascinating animation in his manner, which touched every heart; a perspicuity in his ideas which every man could understand; and a propriety, strength, and point in his language, which, altogether, was irresistible upon his audience. He knew exactly how and

where to strike the public feeling. The news of the battle of Lexington presented a noble and interesting opportunity for the display of his powers of eloquence. Many addresses were delivered, such as the solemnity of the subject and patriotism of the orators dictated; but MIFFLIN, although the youngest of the speakers, took the bold and decisive ground of a steady adherence to the resolutions which were then offered and adopted. In a memoir of his life read to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the conclusion of his address is thus quoted—"Let us not be bold in declarations and afterwards cold in action. Let not the patriotic feeling of to-day be forgotten to-morrow; nor have it said of Philadelphia, that she passed noble resolutions, slept upon them, and afterwards neglected them." This was high language for that day, although the men of the present time, when our country has become powerful and proud, can scarcely believe it. But MIFFLIN did not preach a doctrine which he would not himself follow; he did not begin and end his fit of patriotism with brave words and brilliant speeches, in which there might have been as much of vanity as love of country. He did not go home to sleep upon and forget the resolutions he so warmly recommended to others. He followed them by corresponding actions, and entered at once into the military service. Companies and regiments for the assertion and defence of American liberties and rights were spontaneously formed, and MIFFLIN was appointed the major of one of the regiments. To wait until danger came upon him did not suit his ardent spirit; he determined to seek it, and accordingly joined the camp then formed at Boston. He very soon distinguished himself there by opposing a detachment of the British army sent to collect cattle from the neighborhood. An officer of high rank, who was a witness of this proceeding, declared that he "never saw a greater display of personal bravery than was exhibited on this occasion in the cool and intrepid conduct of Colonel MIFFLIN." A short time after the withdrawal of the British troops from Boston, Colonel MIFFLIN received from congress the commission of brigadier-general; having previously performed, in a most satisfactory manner, the arduous duties of quarter-master-general. The high opinion which congress entertained of the talents, judgment, and zeal in the great cause, of General MIFFLIN, was manifested by a resolution of 25th of May, 1776, appointing a committee to confer with General Washington, General Gates, and General MIFFLIN, "touching the frontiers towards Canada." To be associated with such men in such a service, at the age of *thirty-two*, was a most gratifying honor.

In the fall of 1776 American affairs bore a most desponding aspect, and American liberty was drooping, almost to despair. The people, even many who set out bravely on the onset, were becoming weary, discontented, and disheartened with a contest in which they no longer saw any hope of success. The army was melting away, and the shattered remnant which stood to their arms and flag had ceased to look for victory in the battle field, and were satisfied to find refuge from a conquering enemy in secure positions. In this gloomy state of the country, her leading and undaunted patriots determined to make an attempt to revive the spirit of the preceding year by personal appeals to the patriotism and honorable feelings of the people. The peculiar eloquence of General MIFFLIN was exactly what was wanted for this purpose, and he was directed to go into the counties of Pennsylvania, "to exhort and rouse the militia to come forth in defence of their country." His selection for this service is mentioned by Marshall in his Life of Washington; who says, that "the exertions of General MIFFLIN, who had been commissioned to raise the militia of Pennsylvania, though they made but little impression on the state at large, were attended with some degree of success in Philadelphia. A large proportion of the inhabitants of that city had associated for the defence of their country; and on this occasion fifteen hundred of them marched to Trenton." General Washington had given up his design of marching to Princeton on receiving intelligence that Lord Cornwallis was rapidly advancing from Brunswick, and had passed the Delaware; the British then occupying Trenton. General MIFFLIN was again despatched to Philadelphia to take charge of the numerous stores in that place. "The utmost exertions," says Marshall, "were made by the civil authority to raise the militia." General MIFFLIN was directed to "repair immediately to the neighboring counties, and endeavor, by all the means in his power, to rouse and bring in the militia to the defence of Philadelphia." Congress also declared that they deemed it of great importance to the general safety that "General MIFFLIN should make a progress through several of the counties of the state of Pennsylvania, to rouse the freemen thereof to the immediate defence of the city and country;" and they resolved "that the assembly be requested to appoint a committee of their body to make the tour with him, and assist in this good and necessary work." General MIFFLIN cheerfully accepted this *good* and *necessary* mission, and executed it with his usual ability and zeal. He assembled the people at convenient places, and poured forth his exciting eloquence in meeting-houses, churches, and court-

houses; from pulpits sacred to the offices of religion, and the judgment seats of the law. The battle of Princeton, in January, 1777, immediately followed these exertions; and the victories of Trenton and Princeton may be considered as having assured and sealed American independence. General MIFFLIN was present at Princeton, and makes a conspicuous figure in Col. Trumbull's painting of that memorable conflict. In the following February congress raised General MIFFLIN to the rank of *Major-General.*

Although the health of General MIFFLIN was considerably impaired by his constant and various labors in the military service of his country, he continued in it to the end of the war; and he enjoyed, with his co-laborers in the great work, the unspeakable happiness of seeing the independence and liberties of his country firmly and for ever established. He had maintained and augmented the attachment of his fellow-citizens to him, and in 1783 was appointed, by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of congress. By that illustrious body of true *American patriots,* he was, in the fall of the same year, elevated to the seat of their president. In this capacity he received from General Washington the resignation of his commission of Commander-in-chief of the American army. It was his duty to reply to the address of Washington on this august occasion, which, in all its interesting circumstances, has no parallel in the history of human affairs. Both addresses were such as would be expected from the respective officers.

In 1785 General MIFFLIN was chosen a member of the legislature of Pennsylvania, and elected the speaker of that body. In 1788 he became president of the supreme executive council of the state, under the constitution of that day. In 1787 the great convention assembled at Philadelphia to frame a government for the United States, (then sinking into anarchy and ruin because they had no government,) which should "form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." A more dignified and solemn trust was never committed to human agency. The destinies of a great empire, of innumerable millions of men, were placed in their hands; and never was a trust more faithfully, more wisely, more successfully performed. In this illustrious assembly General MIFFLIN was one of the representatives of Pennsylvania. We cannot withstand the temptation to note the names of his colleagues in this delegation, that it may be seen to what sort of men the people of that day entrusted their high concerns.

The Pennsylvania delegation consisted of—*Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris!*

Soon after the adoption of the constitution of the United States, a convention was called by the people of Pennsylvania to reform their plan of government. Of this convention General MIFFLIN was a member, and the president. He had, as he had shown when speaker of the house of assembly, an unusual fitness for presiding over such assemblies. He was prompt and decisive, and exercised his authority with dignity and impartiality. When the constitution, formed and adopted by this convention, went into operation, General MIFFLIN was elected the first governor, in whose hands the whole executive power of the state was placed, and he continued to hold the office, by reëlections, for the whole constitutional term, to wit, nine years.

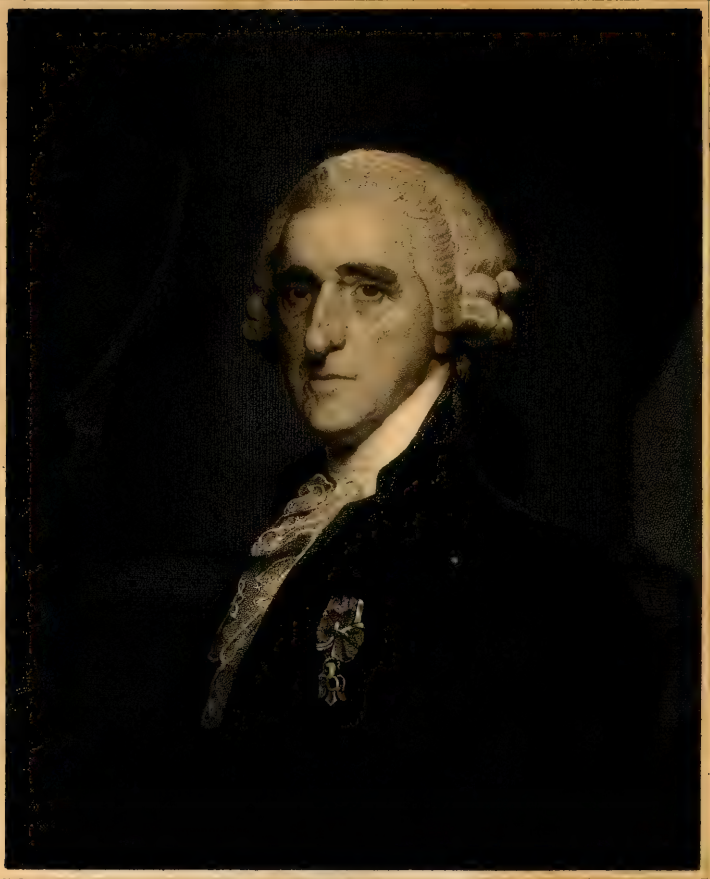
It will be remembered that it was during Governor MIFFLIN'S administration of the state government, that the insolent conduct of the ministers of revolutionary France disturbed the quiet of our country, by endeavoring to organize a regular opposition to the federal administration, then in the hands of President Washington. The feelings of our people were highly excited in favor of what they thought was *republican France.* The French ministers presuming upon this feeling, and ignorant of the superior and steady attachment of our citizens to their own country and government, assumed to exercise sovereign powers within the territories of the United States. The governor of Pennsylvania, in common with a great majority of our citizens, entertained a strong predilection for the French people and their cause. But this did not lead him to forget or neglect the duties which, as the governor of Pennsylvania, he owed to the government of the Union. When the president found it necessary to call upon him for his aid in executing the laws, and maintaining the authority of the United States, the requisition was promptly complied with.

In 1794, in the midst of the excitement about French affairs, and not without some connexion with it, an insurrection broke out in some of the western counties of Pennsylvania, immediately inflamed by the imposition of certain internal taxes, particularly that on whiskey. The government of the United States, whose laws were thus defied and opposed by force, was obliged to take the field to quell the insurgents. On the call of the president, Governor MIFFLIN marched at the head of the quota of militia demanded of Pennsylvania; and putting aside all the pride of rank and etiquette, served under General Lee, the governor of Virginia, who had been inferior to Governor

MIFFLIN in rank in the army of the war of revolution; and although the service to be performed was in Governor MIFFLIN's own state. Speaking of this insurrection, *Marshall* says—"By his personal exertions the governor of Pennsylvania compensated for the defects in the militia laws of that state. From some inadvertence, as was said, on the part of the brigade inspectors, the militia could not be drafted; and, consequently, the quota of Pennsylvania could be complied with only by volunteers. The governor, who was endowed with a high degree of popular eloquence, made a circuit through the lower counties of the state, and publicly addressed the militia at different places, where he had caused them to be assembled, on the crisis in the affairs of their country. So successful were these animating exhortations, that Pennsylvania was not behind her sister states in furnishing the quota required from her."

Governor MIFFLIN took his leave of the legislature on the 7th of December, 1799; and having been elected a member of the house of representatives, he took his seat in that assembly. His health was now exceedingly impaired; he had frequent attacks of the gout, which generally struck at his stomach. After a short confinement, he died on the 20th of January 1800, at Lancaster, at that time the seat of government. Resolutions were passed by the legislature expressive of the high sense entertained of his public services as a soldier and a statesman; his interment was provided for at the public expense, and a monument erected to his memory.

Governor MIFFLIN, from his early youth to the hour of his death, was in the service of his country, and always in a prominent position. He maintained the confidence and favor of his fellow-citizens from the first to the last, without a moment's interruption or abatement; they, indeed, went on increasing. In his personal appearance he was uncommonly handsome; rather below the ordinary height; but his form was in such good proportion, and so firmly set, that he was admirably calculated for any exertion of activity or endurance of fatigue. There was an extraordinary brilliancy in his eye; an animation and point in his conversation, which fastened upon all who listened to him. He was an ardent and sincere friend, and nobody sooner forgot an injury. His purse was too freely open to every call upon it, and his habits of expense too improvident for his own interest and comfort. A contemporary officer of the revolution, by no means a personal friend, says that he was a man of "education, of ready apprehension and brilliancy, and possessed fortitude equal to any demands that might be made upon it."



Engraved by T.B.Welch from a painting by G.Stuart.

THOMAS M:KEAN

Tho.s M: Kean

THOMAS McKEAN.

The facility with which the patriots of the American Revolution passed from the excitement and turbulence of war to the cultivation of the arts of peace, is one of the most remarkable of the numerous excellencies for which they were conspicuous. They did not merely convert weapons of warfare into implements of agriculture. They displayed in civil occupations those exalted intellectual qualities which are usually the growth of peaceful nurture, but which in them seemed to spring up spontaneously, in defiance of adverse circumstances and perilous commotions. Perhaps the very concussion of society may have elicited the sparks of genius which otherwise would have lain inert, and never have been brought into existence.

We have been led to these remarks by contemplating the character of an eminent lawyer and statesman, the foundation of whose greatness was laid amidst the perils of a revolution. The condition of Chief Justice McKean was similar to that of a majority of our illustrious countrymen, who acquired in war the qualities essential to distinction in peace. The subject of this memoir was a native of the county of Chester, in the province of Pennsylvania, and was born on the nineteenth day of March, A. D. 1734.

He received his academical education under the superintendence of the Rev. Francis Allison, a scholar and divine, eminent for piety and learning; and after having acquired the customary branches of knowledge, he commenced the study of the law in the office of his relative, David Finney, Esq. at New Castle in Delaware. During the continuance of his studies, he performed the duties of Clerk of the Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, and subsequently became deputy Prothonotary, and Register for the probate of wills, &c. for the County of Newcastle, the whole labor of which devolved upon him in consequence of the absence of his principal.

His career at the bar, to which he was admitted to practice before he had arrived at the age of twenty-one years, was rapid; and

extended to his native county of Chester and to the city of Philadelphia. In 1756 he was appointed deputy of the Attorney-General to prosecute in the County of Sussex, which appointment he resigned after having, in a creditable manner, fulfilled its duties for two years. In 1757 he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and was without solicitation elected clerk of the Assembly, which appointment was renewed on the following year, but was subsequently declined. Another evidence of his merit and growing reputation was exhibited by his having been selected by the Legislature, together with Cæsar Rodney, Esq. in 1762, to print and revise the laws enacted since 1752; an important and responsible duty, which was executed with promptness and success.

The early part of his life having been thus devoted to the acquisition of practical knowledge, to the improvement of his abilities, and to the establishment of a broad foundation for his reputation, he was admirably well prepared, for a long and active career of public life. His qualifications were extensive, and his habits of industry firmly settled. The scene which was before him, was full of difficulty and peril. He, however, advanced with resolution, and being thoroughly prepared for every emergency, was enabled to sustain himself amidst the most complicated and hazardous embarrassments which the condition of public affairs produced.

In 1762, as a member of the Assembly from the County of New Castle, he commenced that active participation in politics which he continued for nearly half a century, during which time few great events transpired with which he was not connected, and associated his name with the momentous transactions of the Revolution. During seventeen years he was annually re-elected in opposition to his avowed inclination, and notwithstanding repeated communications from him to his constituents, through the newspapers, declining a re-election. This is the more remarkable from the circumstance, that for the space of six years of that time he resided in the city of Philadelphia. It exhibits a singular proof of confidence on the part of the constituents, and fidelity in the representative.

His repeated solicitations, to be relieved from his official burthen, having been disregarded, he appeared on the 1st of October 1777, the day of the general election, at New Castle; and after delivering a long and eloquent address to his constituents on the condition of public affairs, succeeded in withdrawing his name as a candidate. But no sooner had he accomplished this object, than the confidence of the

people placed him in a situation of singular delicacy and embarrassment.

A committee, composed of six persons, called upon him in the name of the electors, and after expressing the reluctance with which they acquiesced in his determination no longer to be their representative, desired that, in consequence of the critical posture of affairs and their confidence in his judgment, he would recommend seven persons in whom they might confide as representatives for that county. Mr. McKean made his grateful acknowledgments for so distinguished a compliment, but struggled to be excused from a duty calculated to give offence to his friends; and assured them that he knew not only seven, but seventy of the gentlemen present at the election whom he believed to be deserving of their suffrages. The electors, however, persisted in their purpose, and the committee having returned to Mr. McKean, and informed him that a compliance with the popular will would not only not give offence to any individual, but would confer a benefit on the country, he wrote the names of seven persons, who were elected. Of the eighteen hundred electors present, the lowest of the gentlemen named by Mr. McKean, on the ballot wanted less than two hundred votes of that number.

So distinguished a proof of confidence made a deep impression on his mind, and is of itself conclusive evidence of his devotion to the public service, and the commanding integrity of his life. The experience of modern times, however, demonstrates that personal merit, unaided by the peculiar condition of society, could not have been the sole cause of the distinction. Merit in the constituents is essential to such a result. The crowd of aspirants after official importance will readily dispense with the services of an incumbent, however necessary they may be to the country, and will supply vacancies without requiring the prompting or advice of others. Mr. McKean's constituents were of a peculiar order. They conferred distinction on merit without stint or envy; and having once tested the fidelity of their representative, they—

> "Grappled him to their souls with hooks of steel;
> *And did not* dull their palms with entertainment
> Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged *candidate*."

In 1764 the Legislature gave an additional proof of its confidence, by appointing him to be one of the three trustees of the loan office for New Castle County, which station he filled until the year 1772.

The controversy with Great Britain, which was fruitful of so many

thrilling incidents, and brought so many powerful minds into action, displayed itself about this period like a speck on the horizon; and to any other than the sagacious patriots of America would hardly have seemed to portend a storm. But the legislation of the British Parliament could not escape the vigilance of Colonial jurists. The arrogance of British statesmen might look with contempt, on the apparent simplicity of a race of men whom they affected to believe had degenerated from the parent stock; but the event proved that there were veins of intellectual wealth pervading our country not surpassed in extent and value by any in Europe; and that it only required the impulse of oppression to bring into active operation moral and mental powers, which have commanded the admiration of mankind.

Mr. McKean represented the Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, in the Congress which assembled at New-York in October, 1768. His intrepidity soon gained for him distinction. He actively engaged in their proceedings, and vindicated a course of inflexible firmness. The president and several members having refused, through timidity, to sign the proceedings, Mr. McKean so warmly displayed his indignation, that he became involved in a personal controversy, but which resulted in an increase of his reputation, and in the exposure of his antagonists to popular obloquy. On his return to New Castle, he and his colleague Mr. Rodney received the unanimous thanks of the Legislature for the energy and abilities with which they had performed their duties in Congress.

During this year he was appointed Notary Public for the lower counties of Delaware, and was also raised to the Bench, having received a commission as a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, quarter Sessions, and Orphan's Court for the County of New Castle. His energy was not out of place in the judicial station; for the court displayed an act of intrepidity which closely resembles the daring spirit by which he was actuated at every period of his life. The officers of the court were ordered to perform their duties as usual on unstamped paper, and this promptly repudiated an unconstitutional act of Parliament.

If we are to judge of the estimation in which he was held by the number and variety of his public employments, a high rank must be assigned to him, for his services seem constantly to have been in requisition. In 1769 he was sent by the Assembly to New-York to obtain copies of all documents relating to real estate in the lower counties of Delaware prior to 1700; in 1771 he was appointed by the Commissioners of his Majesty's customs, collector of the port of New

Castle, and in October, 1772, he became the speaker of the House of Representatives.

Notwithstanding he had fixed his residence permanently in Philadelphia, the affection of his old constituents followed him, and he was appointed by the lower counties of Delaware a delegate to the Congress of 1774. Their confidence continued with undeviating constancy, and was exhibited by an annual re-election until the restoration of peace in 1783, a distinction which was peculiar to himself, there being no other example of an unbroken term of service during that space of time. The convenience of his location at the place of the meeting of Congress may have induced the Delawarians to have selected him, and the absence of extensive pecuniary means of defraying the expenses of a delegate, may have quieted the aspiring spirits of rival candidates, and thus have thrown power into the hands of a man who systematically disregarded selfish considerations.

The business of Congress was promptly and efficiently transacted by the aid of his indefatigable and enlightened services. The extent and variety of his labors could only be fully appreciated by his coadjutors in the many secret committees which were occupied in the constant investigation of the affairs of a nation, and struggling to devise the means of carrying it triumphantly through a long and desolating conflict. In June, 1775, he was a member of the committee which prepared and reported the articles of confederation, which however were not finally agreed to, until late in the following year, and not ratified by all the States until March 1781, when the State of Maryland authorised her delegates to concur.

In addition to his other public duties, he was President of the convention of deputies from the committee of Pennsylvania, held at Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia, in June 1776, who recommended a Declaration of Independence by Congress; a similar resolution having been previously adopted in the month of May by the regiment of Associators of which he was the colonel. In the same year he was chairman of the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, of the Committee of observation and inspection for the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and of a conference of delegates in Congress from the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; thus exhibiting himself as a prominent and untiring laborer in a glorious but most perilous conflict.

A slight knowledge of the character of Mr. McKean will prepare us to find him in that intrepid rank of patriotic men who projected the independence of their country, and at the risk of their lives severed

the tie which bound her to the British dominions. He was the earnest advocate of the propriety of making a Declaration of Independence, and its undaunted supporter after the measure had been adopted. Mr. Rodney, one of the three delegates from Delaware, being absent on the first of July, when Independence was resolved on in Committee of the whole, and Mr. Read and Mr. McKean differing in opinion, the vote of Delaware would have been lost, had not the zeal of Mr. McKean induced him to send an express at his private expense for Mr. Rodney. That gentleman arrived on the morning of the fourth, and uniting with Mr. McKean, gave the vote of Delaware in favor of Independence; by which means that measure was adopted with the concurrence of all the States. In consequence of his absence, performing military services for several months immediately succeeding the fourth of July, an opportunity did not occur until the month of October of affixing his signature to the Declaration, engrossed on parchment.

But it was not merely in a civil capacity that Mr. McKean acquired distinction. He performed the duties of a soldier with firmness and activity. A pitched battle might have ranked him among the military heroes of our country. Although he was never in a regular engagement, his personal risk was great, and his exertions ardent. The services of the militia of Pennsylvania having been required in New Jersey, Mr. McKean, as colonel of a regiment, marched a few days after the Declaration of Independence to Perth Amboy, to support General Washington, and continued in active service until the occasion which called them to camp had ceased. In the performance of military duty he faced the cannon's mouth, and had his capacity as a soldier fully tested by his exposure to a heavy firing from the enemy's batteries.

He had no sooner resumed his seat in Congress, than his attendance at Dover, as a member of the convention for forming a Constitution for Delaware, was required. On his arrival, after a fatiguing ride, he was met by a committee, who requested him to write a constitution for them. The labor occupied the night. The constitution written by him was presented at 10 o'clock the next morning, and unanimously adopted.

On the 28th of July, 1777, he was commissioned by the Supreme Executive council of Pennsylvania as Chief Justice, a station which he filled with distinguished ability for twenty-two years. As the nation was just emerging from a Colonial condition, and as the disturbed state of society unsettled the rights of property, great and novel questions were constantly occurring, which required a court of more

than ordinary sagacity, firmness, and learning to determine. Chief Justice McKean displayed qualifications equal to the emergencies of the times; and, independently of the high authority of his opinions, his character as a great judge has descended, in prominent relief, to posterity.

In the performance of his judicial functions he displayed a firmness which no danger could affect; at one time braving the power of Great Britain by the punishment of treason against his country, and at another stemming the torrent of popular excitement by shielding the accused from illegal punishment.

When we reflect that at the time of his appointment to the office of Chief Justice he was a member of Congress, speaker of the Assembly, President of Delaware, and that in July, 1781, he occupied the station of President of Congress, we can form an estimate of the vast labor which he performed, and of the unwearied application requisite to master the complicated details of litigated cases, essential to the faithful fulfilment of his judicial duties. Yet amidst the violence of party animosity in which he was extensively involved, his enemies do not seem to have charged him with the neglect of any of his duties, although his filling so many offices became the ground of complaint.

Mr. McKean struggled to obtain relief from the great burthen of public affairs which was heaped upon him. His health and fortune were impaired, by his attention to public business. As a delegate in Congress, he had never received sufficient to defray his expenses; and for two years he had neither been offered nor received any compensation. The Legislature of Delaware, however, declined accepting his resignation; and although Congress, on the twenty-third of October, 1781, accepted his resignation as president, on the next day they requested him to resume that station until the fifth of the following November, when, having elected an officer to supply his place, they relieved him from the duties of the chair, and rewarded him by a vote of thanks.

Chief Justice McKean was often exposed to party animosity. His integrity and great public services carried him through the fiery ordeal unscathed. The confidence of his countrymen sustained him in every trial. His ardent temperament and energy of character, were always accompanied by disinterested patriotism, and strength of intellect. An unsuccessful attempt was made to impeach him when performing the duties of Chief Justice. But his reputation remained unsullied, and his career of usefulness was not yet terminated.

In 1787 Chief Justice McKean was a member of the Convention

of Pennsylvania which ratified the Constitution of the United States, a measure which he advocated with all his zeal and ability. "I have gone," said he, "through the circle of office, in the Legislature, Executive, and Judicial departments of government; and from all my study, observation, and experience, I must declare, that from a full examination and due consideration of this system, it appears to me the best the world has yet seen. I congratulate you on the fair prospect of its being adopted, and am happy in the expectation of seeing accomplished what has long been my ardent wish, that you will hereafter have a salutary permanency in magistracy and stability in the laws."

He was always the advocate of the rights of the smaller States, which he struggled to protect from the encroachments of the larger members of the confederacy. In the Congress of 1765, and in that of 1774, he insisted that they should vote by States, which course was adopted. Although he was not a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, he took a deep interest in their proceedings, and exerted his influence to secure the adoption of his favorite principle, of an equal vote in national proceedings by all the States. He furnished the delegates from Delaware with notes of his arguments on former occasions, when the question was discussed in Congress, and urged upon the members from the larger, the propriety of securing the rights of the smaller States. An equal representation in the Senate of the United States, accomplished his object.

In 1789 Chief Justice McKean was elected a delegate, from the city of Philadelphia to the Convention, to amend the Constitution of Pennsylvania. He engaged in the performance of his duties with his usual earnestness; but as he mostly occupied the chair when the Convention was in Committee of the whole, he was precluded from a very active participation in the debate. A proposition for the gratuitous education of the poor was suggested by him as an amendment to Mr. Wilson's resolution for the establishment of schools, both of which provisions were incorporated in the section of the Constitution, which, on the motion of Mr. Pickering, was finally adopted.

After a warm party conflict, he was, in the year 1799, elected Governor of Pennsylvania, which station he filled for nine years. The extensive patronage of the Executive of Pennsylvania, renders the possession of that office essential to party ascendency, and consequently the acquisition agitates the commonwealth with the most violent party commotions. In the conflict the public good is too often overlooked; and he who gains the victory, is too apt to consider the

emoluments of public employment as the appropriate reward for services rendered to a party.

Experience and skill are too often dispensed with, and the undisciplined incumbent naturally strives during the brief and uncertain space of his official career, to reap as large a share as practicable of the pecuniary benefits of his station. It is to be regretted that a man of Governor McKean's high standing and independent spirit should have yielded to the dominion of party feeling, and have sanctioned by his high authority the practice of removing from office on mere party grounds, which has so completely gained the ascendency in the State, and been so prolific of mischief to the public service. He, however, did not hesitate to remove his political antagonists, and frankly avowed his motives. "It is at least imprudent," said he in a letter to Mr. Jefferson, "to foster spies continually about one's self. I am only sorry that I did not displace ten or eleven more: for it is not right to put a dagger in the hands of an assassin." The violence of his animosity did not, however, continue without intermission; for after his administration became firmly settled, he distinguished merit in the ranks of his opponents, and elevated men to office who belonged to the party opposed to him.

Swayed, as he occasionally was, by party feeling, the general tenor of his administration was marked by his accustomed ability and devotion to the public welfare. The extent of his knowledge, the vigor of his language, and the ardor of his patriotism, gave him a lofty station in the confidence of the people, and sustained the popularity of his administration. In the years 1807 and 1808 another attempt was made to impeach him, which drew from him a vigorous and successful defence.

In the exercise of the important and delicate power of appointment, he acted from the impulse of his own mind, and disdained to submit to party dictation. With a strongly marked character, and feelings inured to independence, his errors and his virtues emanated from his own breast, and were not derived from an imitation of others or from a compliance with their views of propriety. Lofty and inflexible, he pursued that course which he believed to be right, and met the consequences of public scrutiny, and the menace of popular condemnation, with a fearless consciousness of rectitude.

In the year 1803 he declined an urgent solicitation to become a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Union, and at the close of the year 1808, having served as Governor during the constitutional period of nine years, he finally retired from public life, and sought, in

the endearments of domestic life, and in the cultivation of literature, the enjoyments congenial to his age and inclination. He survived his retirement about nine years, and, separated from all causes of irritation, enjoyed the unbounded respect and gratitude of the people whom he had so efficiently served.

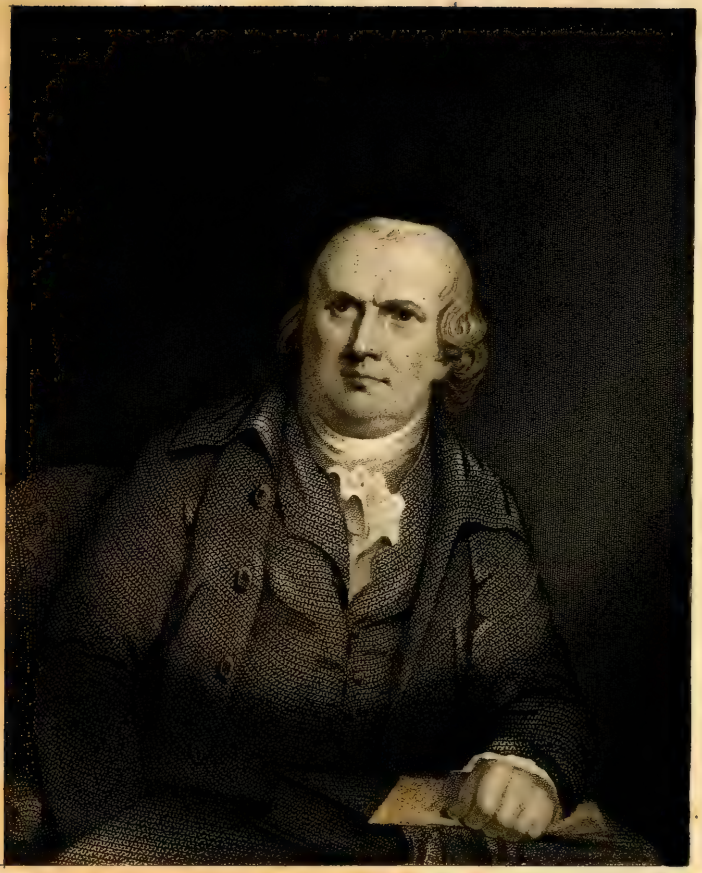
In the year 1814, when the rapid advances of the British awakened apprehensions for the safety of Philadelphia, which was almost entirely unprotected, a town meeting was convened in Independence Square to devise measures for its security, The venerable patriot attended, and his appearance was loudly greeted by the assembled multitude, who unanimously called him to the chair. He briefly addressed the meeting, aroused a spirit of devotion to their country, and endeavored to soothe all dissentions by reminding them "that there were then but two parties, our country and its invaders." His speech was in the spirit of times which were past, and was recognised as the voice of a patriot and a sage. Prompt and effective measures were the result of the meeting.

Governor McKean's deportment was dignified and impressive. His fortitude, energy, and industry, were fully exhibited in his conduct throughout life, whilst his public integrity has often been the theme of commendation; his private character seems to have escaped reproach. He was twice married; once in 1762 to Miss Mary Borden of Bordentown, and in 1774 to Miss Sarah Armitage of New Castle, Delaware.

He died on the twenty-fourth of June, 1817, aged eighty-three years two months and sixteen days; and was interred in the burial ground of the first Presbyterian Church in Market Street, Philadelphia.

In reviewing the lives of patriotic men, who have devoted their abilities to the service of the republic, it is gratifying to dwell on illustrious actions, upon which posterity pronounces an unanimous verdict of approbation. Differences of opinion on abstract points, or on temporary measures, are overlooked in contemplating a career distinguished for patriotic devotion to the public service. Party feeling subsides, human infirmity is forgotten, and the reputation of the patriot survives for ages. The fame of Governor McKean is identified with some of the most important events of our country. History, in recording them, will recount the virtues and the privations by which they were accomplished.

T. A. B.



Engraved by T B Welch from a Painting by J P Longacre after an original Portrait by R E Pine

Robt Morris

ROBERT MORRIS.

Few names are to be found in the annals of the Revolution more worthy of grateful remembrance than that of the *Great Financier.* The zeal, and skill, and sleepless vigilance of Washington would have been exerted in vain; the flame of patriotism, which glowed far and wide in the bosoms of thousands who where panting for freedom, would have been kindled in vain, had it not been for the financial ability and extensive credit of Robert Morris. The sword of a nation must soon rest idly in the scabbard when the national purse is empty.

Some have even gone so far as to say, that his extraordinary powers in the department of finance, the extent of his influence in the commercial relations of this nation in its earliest time of trial, and his unremitted devotion to the duties entrusted to him, entitle him to honors second only to Washington himself. We are, however, not required to fix the precise degree of merit attached to the various individuals who lent their powerful aid in various ways to the general cause. Skill and valor in the field and on the ocean, eloquence in the legislative hall or the popular assembly, the influence of the pen and of the press, and the creation and management of funds or credit, are all essential to success in a contest of nations. To the warriors, the orators, and the writers of the revolutionary period, we have devoted a large portion of our work; we should still consider it imperfect without a respectful notice of the man, whose skilful efforts supplied the funds necessary to give effect to the exertions of his contemporaries.

Robert Morris was born at Liverpool, England, on the 20th of January, (O. S.) 1733, and was brought into this country by his father when about thirteen years of age. His education was continued under the instruction of the Rev. Mr. Gordon, of Maryland, for about two years, when the accidental discharge of a gun from a ship in the Delaware deprived his father of life, and left him an orphan in a strange land. His education, therefore, went no farther than to qualify

him for business. Nature had endowed him liberally with powers of mind, and his disposition and manners had endeared him to those who knew him. He was not, therefore, without friends to aid him in his youthful career. Soon after the death of his father he was received into the counting-house of Mr. Charles Willing, the most distinguished merchant at that time in Philadelphia. When he became of age he was established in business with his partner's son, Thomas Willing, and embarked in an extensive and profitable West India trade. Mr. Morris made several voyages as supercargo in the ships belonging to the company, in one of which he was made a prisoner by the French, and for some time was kept in close confinement. He was, however, liberated ; and by exercising his ingenuity in repairing a watch, obtained means to return to Philadelphia, where he resumed his station. Under his active superintendance, the firm of Willing and Morris rapidly attained the summit of commercial reputation. Their foreign business was very extensive, and their punctuality and integrity established them in the confidence and credit of the world. To Mr. Morris business was a pleasure, yet the regulations and order of his counting-house enabled him to enjoy the society of his friends, to whom he attached himself with all the ardor of a generous and ingenuous mind.

Mr. Morris, about the age of thirty-six, married the sister of the the late Bishop White. A lady who has been described as "elegant, accomplished, and rich, and well qualified to carry the felicity of connubial life to its highest perfection."

At the close of the year 1775 his public life commenced. He was then sent to Congress as a member from Pennsylvania, and was immediately engaged on financial arrangements of the greatest importance. When Congress removed to Baltimore in 1776, Mr. Morris was left at Philadelphia with Messrs. Clymer and Walton, to remain as long as circumstances would permit, and transact such business as required attention in that city.

At this crisis General Washington was surrounded by secret foes, and destitute of the means of detecting them, or of getting possession of the enemy's designs, from the want of hard money ; nor could he keep the troops which formed a considerable part of his army, and whose time of service had expired, without the promise of a bounty, which he had not the means to advance. Mr. Morris borrowed the necessary amount on his own note, and the receipt of it was acknowledged by the General on the 1st of January, 1777.

The situation of General Greene, in South Carolina, was equally

critical, his distresses rendering it scarcely possible to keep the troops together, when a gentleman of that State advanced the necessary sums, and enabled him to avert the danger. When General Greene returned to Philadelphia, and repaired to the office of finance to settle his accounts after the war had terminated, he found that he had been relieved under the direction of Mr. MORRIS. He felt hurt, at first, at the apparent want of confidence in him; but on reflection, he told Mr. MORRIS he had never done a wiser thing; "For," said he, "on other occasions I was sufficiently distressed to have warranted my drawing on you, had I known that I might have done so, and I should have availed myself of the privilege." Mr. MORRIS informed him, that even as matters had been conducted, the southern expedition had gone nearer than the operations in any other quarter, to the arrest of his commercial business.

When Washington suddenly abandoned the banks of the Hudson to co-operate with Count de Grasse in Virginia, from seventy to eighty pieces of battering cannon, and one hundred of field artillery, were completely fitted and furnished with attirail and ammunition, and forwarded in three or four weeks, to the great honor of the officers and men employed in the service. All this, together with the expense of provisions and pay for the troops, was accomplished on the personal credit of ROBERT MORRIS, who issued his notes to the amount of one million four hundred thousand dollars, which were finally all paid. There was no money in the chest of the war office nor in the Treasury; and the expedition which brought the war to a close by the capture of Cornwallis, never could have been effected had not Mr. MORRIS's credit and management supplied the funds necessary to give effect to exertion.

In 1781 the office of Financier was established by resolution of Congress, and Mr. MORRIS was unanimously elected Superintendant. One of the first acts of his financial government was, the proposition to Congress of his plan for the establishment of the Bank of North America, which was forthwith chartered, and opened in January, 1782. At that time the States were half a million of dollars in debt on the taxes of the year, which had been raised by anticipation on that system of credit which Mr. MORRIS had created: and but for this establishment, his plans must have been entirely frustrated.

On his retirement from office, it was affirmed that it cost Congress at the rate of eighteen millions of dollars a year to carry on the war till he was chosen financier, and then it cost them only about five millions.

He continued to superintend the department of finance until the 30th of September, 1784, when he resigned, and immediately issued an advertisement, pledging himself to the payment of all his outstanding notes as they should arrive at maturity.

Fatigued with the cares of public service, which, from his first election to Congress, had engrossed a large proportion of his time, he was now anxious to return to the relaxation of private life. He declined the office of Secretary of the Treasury, offered to him by President Washington on the organization of the federal government under the present Constitution, and recommended Colonel Hamilton, who was accordingly appointed.

At the conclusion of the war, the propitious fortunes which attended his official career seemed entirely to have forsaken him. His unremitted attention to the business of the country had necessarily been at the expense of his private affairs, and was productive of great embarrassments of mind and circumstances. His latter years where overshadowed by poverty. He had sacrificed himself for the safety of the commonwealth.

After a life of inestimable value to the country, Mr. Morris died at Philadelphia, on the 8th of May, 1806, in the 73d year of his age.

Engraved by J. Gross from a Painting by W. G. Jones after Lonsdale.

JOSEPH HABERSHAM.

Jos. Habersham

JOSEPH HABERSHAM.

Colonel Joseph Habersham was born at Savannah, in Georgia, on the 28th of July, 1751. His father, James Habersham, was a native of Yorkshire, England, and accompanied his friend, the Rev. George Whitefield, to Georgia in the year 1738. There he soon became the President of the Orphan House, or Bethesda College, established by the exertions of Mr. Whitefield; for which charge he was well qualified, by his literary, as well as moral and religious character and habits. He was afterwards appointed one of the King's Council in the Colony, and subsequently its President and acting Governor, in the absence of Sir James Wright, in which situation he remained until his death, a few months before the expulsion of the Royal authority from Georgia, in the year 1776. Although foreign to our subject, it is but justice to the memory of President Habersham to remark, that, while in office, his letters pointed out to the ministry the grievances under which the Colony was laboring from the pernicious and oppressive acts of the British Parliament, the growing spirit of liberty among the people, and warned them of the consequences of perseverance in oppression. Faithful to his duties, but independent in their exercise, after a life devoted to the service and improvement of his adopted country, he was saved, by death, from seeing that country "made a desolation," his fair possessions wasted, and his sons denounced as traitors. Of these sons there were three, James, Joseph, and John, who all engaged with zeal in the Revolution; and, regardless of consequences, rejecting and despising all offers of Royal clemency, continued to the end the unflinching friends and active supporters of the republican cause.

Joseph, the second son, and subject of this notice, was educated at Princeton College, in New Jersey. Of quick and ardent temper, brave and chivalrous almost to excess, a pupil of Witherspoon, and with the independent spirit which he had inherited from his father, it seems to

have been almost a matter of course that he should have taken an early, active, and decided part in the excited feelings and deeply interesting movements of the times. Accordingly, on the 27th July, 1774, at the age of twenty-three, we find him a member of the first committee appointed by the friends of liberty in Georgia; which, in defiance of the proclamation of Governor Wright, continued to co-operate with similar committees in the northern Provinces, and to excite the people to resistance. When we recollect, in connexion with this fact, that his father was, at that moment, the second officer of the King in the Province, and high in favor, the prominent part which Colonel HABERSHAM took in these proceedings exhibits a deep devotion to the cause of his country, which no influence of others, or considerations of a personal nature, could restrain. In the following year, and while his father was still alive and in office, we again find his name recorded among those of a small party of the Republicans, who broke open the magazine, took out the powder, and sent a large portion of it to Beaufort, in South Carolina, for the use of the patriots. In the month of June of the same year he was appointed one of the council of safety; and in July, commanded a party of volunteers which went down the river in boats, captured a government ship which had just arrived with munitions of war for the royal troops, and took out the cargo, including 15,000 pounds of powder, a portion of which was afterwards sent to the north and used by the American army before Boston. On the 18th day of January of the ever-memorable year 1776, Colonel HABERSHAM, who was at that time a member of the assembly, raised a party of volunteers, took Governor Wright prisoner, and confined him to his house under a guard. The Governor effected his escape, however, from this prison in a few weeks, took refuge on board of a British vessel of war then in the river, and never afterwards landed in Georgia.

Active hostilities were now fairly commenced in the province. By a resolution of the General Assembly the first battalion of Georgia Continental troops was raised; and on the 4th of February, 1776, Colonel, then Mr. HABERSHAM, was appointed Major of that battalion. In this command he did not remain idle; for, early in March, the British armed squadron came up the river Savannah to recover possession of the town, which attempt failed. In the defence, Colonel HABERSHAM, at the head of a company of riflemen, bore a distinguished part. In fact, he appears at this time to have been prominently engaged on every occasion in which danger was to be encountered, or the royal authority resisted.

After the expulsion of Governor Wright, and of the British forces from Georgia, that Province enjoyed a few months of comparative quiet; during which, on the 19th of May, 1776, Colonel HABERSHAM married Isabella Rae, the daughter of Robert Rae, and sister-in-law of General Samuel Elbert. Upon the taking of Savannah, in the winter of 1778, and the re-establishment of the Royal Government in Georgia, Colonel HABERSHAM removed his family to Virginia for safety; but his zeal in the cause of his country did not permit him to retire from its service, and accordingly, upon the landing of Count De Estaing in Georgia, to co-operate with General Lincoln in the reduction of Savannah, he was selected as the officer to guide the French army from the sea-board, and was engaged in the combined attack upon his native city, so disastrous in its results. After the failure of this attack, and the retreat of the American and French armies from the State, Savannah, and nearly the whole of Georgia, remained in possession of the British, and so continued to the end of the war.

At the close of the Revolution, Colonel HABERSHAM returned to private life with a broken fortune, but rich in the respect and affection of a free and independent people. In the ever-memorable contest which had just closed, it would be invidious to claim for Colonel HABERSHAM either a peculiar strength of patriotism or of devotion to the cause of the Revolution; thousands, like him, had perilled life and fortune in that Revolution; but when we reflect that his father was high in office, and in the confidence of the King; that he himself, if the Royal authority was preserved, had every prospect of enjoying like confidence and distinction; that the very weakness of the Province gave, in the beginning, but little hope of effectual resistance; and that, in the event of failure, he would, from these very circumstances, become a marked object of Royal vengeance; surely we may be entitled to claim for him more than a common share of devoted patriotism—and such was the portion awarded to him by his native State. In the year 1785 he was elected Speaker of the General Assembly; and in 1790 was again honored with the same distinction.

In the year 1795 Colonel HABERSHAM was called, by Washington, to the distinguished station of Post-Master-General of the United States; and we require no better proof of the able and faithful manner in which he discharged his duties, than the fact that he retained that office, not only to the close of the administration of Washington, but throughout that of the elder Adams. At a period when so many, from great and devoted service to the country, had claims to office; and these claims, well-known and appreciated; and when the selec-

tion was made by Washington, this appointment was the best evidence of his great merit, and the general estimation in which he was held. In this office, as has been already stated, he continued until the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency; but he retained the office so long, by no cringing or truckling to the higher authorities; for the president, Mr. Adams, having told him that the post-office department was an Augean stable, and must be cleansed—meaning that the post-masters who were of the opposite party must be removed; Colonel HABERSHAM replied, that these officers had discharged their duty faithfully, and that, therefore, *he* would not remove them, but that the president could remove the post-master-general. This, however, Mr. Adams, it seems, did not think proper to do.

The principle, however, which Colonel HABERSHAM refused to act upon was soon after made to act upon him. When Mr. Jefferson became the president, a polite note was addressed to Colonel HABERSHAM, tendering to him the office of Treasurer of the United States. This offer was received as, no doubt, it was intended to be, an intimation to him to resign the office of post-master-general, which he immediately did, and returned to Georgia.

Upon the establishment of a branch of the old Bank of the United States in Savannah, Colonel HABERSHAM was appointed the President, which office he continued to hold until the expiration of the charter. The few remaining years of his life were devoted to honorable efforts to repair the ruins of that fortune which had been broken by the Revolution, and in preparation for the close of that life, the greater portion of which had been devoted to the service of his country. His death occurred in his native city, on the 17th day of November in the year 1815, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

We have said that Colonel HABERSHAM was quick and ardent in temper; but, although quick to take offence, he was ready and anxious to make atonement for the slightest wrong—kind and indulgent to his slaves, humane and liberal to the poor, strict in the performance of all his contracts; tenacious of his own, as he had been of the rights of his country. Allowing to others the same independent and frank expression of opinion which he always exercised for himself, he may with truth be pronounced to have been a fair specimen of that noble, generous, and chivalric race who achieved the liberty and independence of our happy country.

M. Gist.

MORDECAI GIST.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for us now to appreciate the hazards, privations, and sacrifices—personal and pecuniary—which were encountered by the patriots who achieved our national independence; nor can we adequately express the gratitude we owe them, for the great and various privileges secured to us by their exertions. Although the honors and distinctions which crown a glorious enterprise, successfully conducted, were theirs, it is, nevertheless, our duty, and should be our pride, to reverence and honor the memory of even the humblest of them. Among the number who are thus entitled to claim our respect and gratitude, was Brigadier General Mordecai Gist, a native of Baltimore county, Maryland.

He was born in 1743, and was of English descent. His father was Captain Thomas Gist; his mother was Susan, daughter of John Cockey, Esq. The ancestors of both families were among the earliest and most respectable emigrants from England, who established themselves in Maryland. He obtained a sound and useful education at the private seminary of an Episcopal clergyman, who had charge of a parish in his father's neighborhood. After attaining the necessary age, he was placed in Baltimore, to prepare him for commercial pursuits, in which he afterward embarked; and in which he continued, till the increasing difficulties with the mother country gave a new direction to his ambition.

Foreseeing the crisis that was approaching, the young men of Baltimore were not tardy in preparing to meet it. In January, 1775, they formed themselves into a volunteer association, under the name of the "Baltimore *Independent* Company," and elected Gist their captain: who, animated by the same spirit of patriotism that governed him throughout the ensuing contest, was, even then, conspicuous for his zeal and activity. This company, the first ever raised in Maryland for the defence of our violated rights, was composed of young men of

the very first respectability, and is still remembered by a few for its fine military appearance, and splendid uniform of scarlet and buff.

In January, 1776, GIST was appointed Major of a battalion of regular troops raised in Maryland. Having joined the army with his corps, he was present at the battle of Long Island, and, in consequence of the absence of the colonel and lieutenant-colonel, commanded the regiment to which he belonged. In 1777 he was advanced to the rank of colonel; and, with Smallwood, was ordered by Washington to take command of the militia which Congress called on the State of Maryland to furnish, to assist in repelling the invasion of the enemy by the way of the Chesapeake. In obedience to orders, he repaired to the eastern shore of Maryland, to execute the duty assigned him of organizing this force, and of harassing the enemy's right flank in any march they might attempt towards Philadelphia, or into the country. After complying with these orders, he joined the main army near the Brandywine, with his troops, in effecting which, he narrowly escaped being made a prisoner, his horse having received two bullets in forcing his way through a detachment of the enemy. At Germantown, and in the various operations that followed, as well as throughout the two succeeding campaigns, he bore his part with zeal and fidelity; having been, in the language of a venerable and distinguished compatriot* who yet survives him, "one of those officers who were always at their posts."

In January, 1779, Congress raised him to the rank of Brigadier General, and conferred on him the command of the second brigade of the Maryland line. In the following year he was transferred with his brigade to the south, which became the field of his subsequent career, and where he participated in all the vicissitudes of defeat and victory —retreat and pursuit—which characterised the eventful campaigns that followed.

In the sanguinary and disastrous battle of Camden, General GIST behaved with distinguished gallantry. Having been posted with his brigade on the right, he, in conjunction with the other Maryland brigade, the Delaware regiment, and Dixon's regiment of North Carolinians, gloriously maintained the unequal conflict, after the left wing and centre had been entirely broken and dispersed; thus, even in defeat, nobly aiding in sustaining the honor of his country's arms. "De Kalb and GIST," says the gallant Lee, in his Memoirs of the

* General Samuel Smith.

War in the Southern Department of the United States, "yet held the enemy on our right in suspense. Lieutenant Colonel Howard, at the head of Williams' regiment, drove the corps in front out of line. Rawdon could not bring the brigade of GIST to recede;—bold was the pressure of the foe—firm as a rock the resistance of GIST." In this engagement the heroic Baron De Kalb fell mortally wounded, and the last act of his life was to dictate to his aid-de-camp the expression of his thanks to Generals GIST and Smallwood, and the troops under their command, for the valor displayed by them in this battle. Congress also testified their approbation, by passing a vote of thanks to GIST and Smallwood, and their respective corps, "for their bravery and good conduct" at Camden. As GIST was retiring from the field, being among the last to do so, in superintending the retreat of his corps, a British dragoon, rushing on in pursuit, galloped up to him with uplifted sword to cut him down; his approach, however, having been perceived, GIST wheeled round to meet the assault and defend himself, when, at the moment, a sergeant of his brigade, who was near, levelled his musket, fired and killed the dragoon, then seized his horse, mounted, and made good his retreat.

General Greene was soon afterward ordered to the South, and signalised his command by a series of masterly movements, and by various engagements, in which the subject of this memoir shared, but which have been detailed in preceding memoirs, and need not now be recapitulated, as they are familiar to every reader. At the surrender of Cornwallis General GIST was present, and is introduced by Colonel Trumbull in his painting representing that memorable event, now in the Rotunda of the Capitol, between Generals Clinton and Wayne.

In 1782 General Greene remodelled the "*Light Corps*" of the Southern army, and selected General GIST to command it. Colonel Baylor was placed under him in command of the cavalry, and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, of the infantry. The British general having sent out a detachment of light infantry, attended by armed vessels along the interior navigation near Charleston, General Greene despatched General GIST with his corps in pursuit. After a long and rapid march, he reached the enemy on the Combabee, and after an engagement, in which the gallant Laurens was killed, succeeded in driving back the enemy, and in capturing one of their vessels. This we believe was the last conflict that occurred in that long but glorious struggle; hostilities having soon afterward ceased.

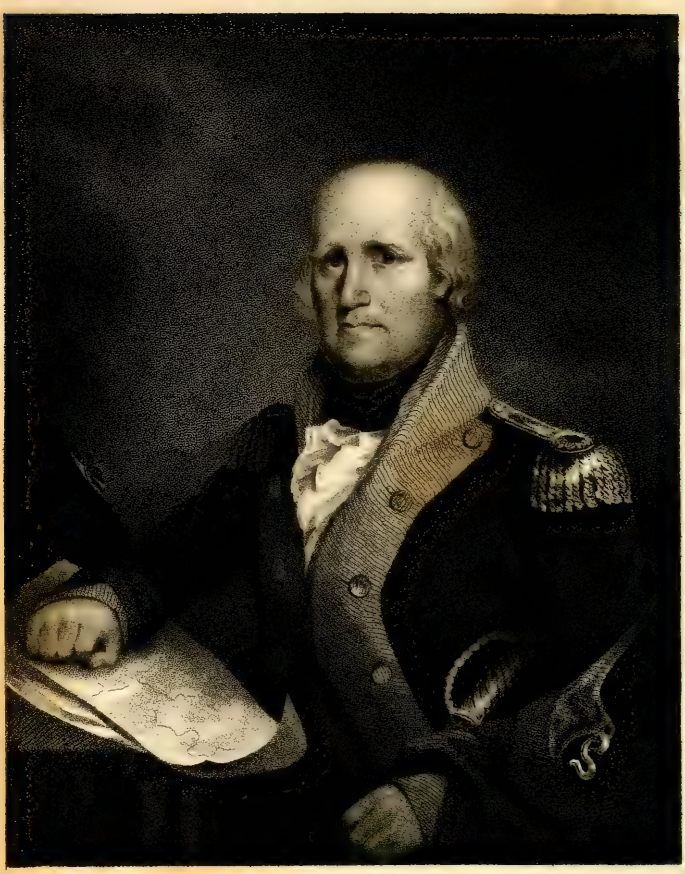
Peace having been proclaimed, and with it the possession of all

those rights for which he had so long contended, General Gist was allowed at last to seek that repose which services so arduous and protracted must have rendered peculiarly grateful. He, accordingly, retired to his plantation near Charleston, South Carolina, where, in the possession of all the enjoyments that opulence and the respect of his fellow-citizens could confer, he resided till the period of his death, which occurred in 1792, in the city of Charleston.

General Gist was thrice married; first to Miss Carnan of Baltimore county, who died soon afterward; next to Miss Sterett of Baltimore, who only lived long enough to give birth to a son; and lastly to Mrs. Cattell of South Carolina, who also bore him a son. In assigning names to his two sons, he gave a curious and unique, but emphatic evidence of his attachment to the cause in which he had embarked, by calling the first, who was born during the gloomiest period of the Revolution, *Independent*, and the other, *States*.

The personal appearance of General Gist was particularly striking, having been six feet in height, and finely proportioned, with a muscular developement indicative of strength and activity. His features and countenance were, at the same time, eminently handsome, with eyes, especially, of singular brilliancy and expression; to which were united, manners and a deportment, frank, graceful and polished.

J. P. C.



Engraved by [illegible] from a Portrait by J.B. Longacre after an original painting by J.W. Jarvis.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE.

To form a correct estimate of the services of George Rogers Clarke, we must examine the extensive outline of the British possessions in North America at the commencement of the Revolutionary war; we must turn our attention from the broad field of contest, stretching along the Atlantic, where the sovereignty of the elder States was lost and won, and trace the links of that chain which galled the Northern and Western frontiers of the United States during the war for Independence, but which were broken in succession by a series of gallant exploits, that ultimately secured the extensive western domain of the republic, and gave existence to the new States on the Ohio and Mississippi. We must become acquainted with the horrors of Indian warfare as it was waged upon those, who at that time were the pioneers of the far West. We must seek the origin, and notice, at least in part, the execution of the savage policy of the British ministry, which drew from the venerable Earl of Chatham those bursts of indignant eloquence, which have rendered his name familiar to every schoolboy in America. Then it will be seen, that the object of that barbarous and cruel policy, or whatever else it might have been, which let loose the tomahawk and scalping knife upon the frontier settlers of the States, which the immortal senator denounced, was severely chastised and checked, if not defeated, by the energy and prowess of Clarke, at the head of a mere handful of brave backwoodsmen.

From the first settlement of the Colonies in America, whether by the Spaniards, French, or English, all had availed themselves of the divisions amongst the aboriginal tribes, their thirst for revenge, their love of the fierce excitements of war, and their credulity; and sought, first, to attach those tribes nearest to their settlements to themselves, and then set them on to destroy their enemies. The wars and national animosities of Europe were transferred with the Colonists to the American wilderness. All the barbarities of Indian warfare

were tolerated and frequently rewarded.* The red men were stimulated to destroy each other, and to shed the blood of white men, and to spare not; and when even the Europeans were at peace among themselves, base and mercenary individuals of their race availed themselves of their intercourse with the Indian tribes to rouse them to deeds of violence. We do not say that contention could have been always avoided, had the short-sighted policy of the whites been of a more humane and consistent character. The very growth and extension of the Colonies would have created jealousy in the hunters of the forest, and a consequent effort to check the intrusion. The interests and habits of civilized and savage life, when they interfere with each other, must lead sooner or later to collision and strife; and to terminate the consequent evils once for all, extermination or separation are the alternatives. The former has been extensively practised upon, but the latter has been for many years the grand scheme of the republic.

At the termination of the French war, in 1763, Great Britain held the vast tract of country which extends north and east of the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi—from the Atlantic Ocean to the unexplored regions of the Frozen Sea. The wars between the French and English for the possession of Canada, and for the territory between the lakes and the Ohio, had brought into the field, on both sides, auxiliary Indian forces. The treaty of peace negotiated at Paris did not secure tranquillity to the inhabitants of the borders. The Indian tribes on the North-western territory only paused to form new plans, and then went on to harass the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania as they had done before. Their scalping parties advanced into the settlements, and marked their way with the most horrid cruelties. Large bodies of the confederated tribes attacked all the distant fortified posts, and in fifteen days captured ten of them and massacred the garrisons. Forts Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit held out, and were relieved and saved.

Although a peace with the Indians was formally concluded by Colonel Bouquet in 1764, their fixed hostility to the whites displayed itself whenever an opportunity presented of taking a prisoner or a scalp.

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* There were exceptions, but they were few. When the Indians were employed by the Europeans in their wars, attempts to control them gave offence: the following extract from Williams's History of Florida is to the point:—"A Cherokee encountering a Spaniard, cut off his head and brought it to Oglethorpe, but he spurned the savage with abhorrence, and, calling him a barbarous dog, bid him begone. The Cherokee said that the French would have treated them very differently. They soon after drew off, and left the place."

Rètaliation followed of course. Thus the backwoodsmen became familiar with all the subleties and craft of Indian warfare; and such in general was their love of adventure and disdain of danger, that they frequently undertook hazardous enterprises from mere curiosity, or the pleasure of traversing a country where no white man had ever trod before.

About the year 1770, the unoccupied domain of Virginia, west of the Cumberland mountains, began to attract the attention of the adventurous inhabitants of the borders. Individuals and small parties successively ventured to explore the unknown region. Many of them never returned; but those who did, gave the most favorable reports of the richness of the soil and the abundance of game. The settlement of the present State of Kentucky immediately followed; and about a year afterward the Revolutionary war commenced.

Amongst those who visited Kentucky at, or soon after, the period that the earliest emigrants had there set up their cabins, was GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE. He was a Virginian; born in Albemarle, on the 19th of Nove. 1752, but is spoken of as a resident in one of the Western counties in 1776, when he went on a tour of observation amongst the new settlements. He visited the forts, the camps, the cabins; he spent much of his time in the woods, made himself acquainted with every subject of interest in the country, and gained the friendship and confidence of the people by the manliness of his deportment, his intelligence and vivacity, and above all, by the boldness of his spirit for enterprise, and the determination he expressed of becoming a resident of the country. This visit of Mr. CLARKE was productive of very important events. He ascertained that the whole frontier was vexed by Indian atrocities, through the influence of British agents. The savages were instigated to deeds of cruelty by the promises of reward for *scalps*, but not for prisoners; and they were supplied with rum, arms, ammunition and clothing at the British posts, which were established from the Mississippi to the St. Lawrence. Mr. CLARKE was deeply affected by the scenes of hostility by which he found himself surrounded. He therefore devised a plan to capture the Western posts, a work which was well adapted to employ his genius, and, if attended with success, to gratify his military propensities and ardent love of adventure.

The reader will remember that the British posts on the Wabash and the Mississippi were within the bounds of the Virginia charter; that at the time of which we are now writing, a strong current of emigration had begun to set towards the West; and that in 1777,

Kentucky was admitted to the privileges of a County of Virginia. The possibility and importance of capturing those posts, and securing thereby the tranquillity of the frontier, was suggested by Mr. CLARKE to the governor and legislature of Virginia, and his project met with a favorable reception. In the beginning of 1778 a regiment of State troops was raised for the service of the Western frontier, and placed under his command. With a force of between two and three hundred men, Colonel CLARKE crossed the mountains to the Monongahela, and descended by water to the falls of the Ohio. There he left thirteen families of emigrants, who had ventured so far under his escort; and being there joined by a party of volunteers from Kentucky, he proceeded with his regiment in boats down the Ohio, to a point about sixty miles from its mouth and one hundred and thirty from Kaskaskia, which was the secret object of the expedition. The route lay through a low country, intersected by numerous streams and ponds of various dimensions, and covered with a luxuriant vegetation. With his rifle in his hand and his provisions on his back, Colonel CLARKE marched at the head of his men, and encountered every difficulty and shared every privation with them. Their provisions were exhausted two days before they reached the town; and although game might have been shot in abundance, the report of a rifle might have warned some solitary hunter or roving Indian of their approach, and secrecy was essential to success. They arrived by night before the town of Kaskaskia, and found the inhabitants and the garrison lulled in the supposed security of their remote position, and so unconscious of danger, that they were completely taken by surprise, and surrendered without resistance. No one was allowed to escape to carry the news to the villages higher up the Mississippi, and in a few days all the settlements were taken. The inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the United States, the fort at Kaskaskia became the head-quarters of Colonel CLARKE, and at the next session of the Virginia legislature the district was created into a county, and called *Illinois*.

His next exploit was the capture of Vincennes. That post had been considered within reach of an attack from the American settlements, and was strongly fortified, and well garrisoned with British troops, commanded by Governor Hamilton, and supported by an auxiliary Indian force of about six hundred warriors. Governor Hamilton was very soon informed of CLARKE's success, and determined to attack him; but, confident in the superiority of his force, he deferred his operations until the rivers and smaller streams, which

then overflowed their banks, should become passable. Colonel CLARKE, in the mean time, prepared to attack Vincennes, and despatched a party to reconnoitre, while he strengthened the defences of Kaskaskia, which he determined to hold at all hazards. While he was arranging his plans for future operations, an itinerant Spanish merchant, who had recently visited Vincennes, arrived, and informed him that Governor Hamilton had detached his Indians to the Ohio and the frontiers of Kentucky; that he proposed to retake Kaskaskia in the Spring, to cut off the inhabitants on the Ohio as far as Fort Pitt, and then operate on the frontiers of Virginia. Colonel CLARKE determined upon instant operations. He made the best preparations he could for a march of one hundred and sixty miles across a country abounding in embarrassments. Several large rivers and their tributary streams, with broad belts of inundated land on each side, were to be crossed without boats or bridges; and the whole route lay over a soil which afforded no firm footing, and through rough and pathless woods. Without wagons and without tents, their ammunition and provisions on their backs and on the backs of a few packhorses, one hundred and thirty men toiled for sixteen days through mud and water. The last five days were occupied in crossing the swamps and drowned lands within about six miles of the fort, wading sometimes breast deep in water, and then forcing their way through tangled thickets and over floating timber. It was mid winter; and had not the weather been unusually mild, all these brave men must have perished. On the evening of the 23d of February, 1779, they reached dry land within view of the fort. The town immediately surrendered. The attack on the fort commenced, and there was a continual fire on both sides for eighteen hours. The next night, after the setting of the moon, the assailants threw up an entrenchment within rifle shot of the strongest battery, and poured such showers of well-directed balls into the ports, that in fifteen minutes two pieces of cannon were silenced. The next evening Governor Hamilton surrendered the garrison prisoners of war, and Colonel CLARKE took possession of the fort and a large quantity of stores. In the height of the action an Indian war party approached with two French prisoners. Colonel CLARKE detached a part of his men to give them battle on the commons. Nine Indians were taken, and the Frenchmen released. Hearing, soon after, of a convoy of goods from Detroit, he sent sixty men in armed boats, well mounted with swivels, to intercept it. They met the convoy forty leagues up the river, and made prize of the whole, taking forty prisoners and about ten thou-

sand pounds worth of goods and provisions, and the mail from Canada. Having more prisoners than he knew what to do with, he was obliged to discharge a great part of them on parole. Governor Hamilton and his principal officers were sent to Virginia, and Colonel CLARKE returned to Kaskaskia, leaving a sufficient garrison at Vincennes. Up to this time he had been left to the resources of his own judgment, and had accomplished a great work with very small means. He had received neither letters nor assistance from Virginia in upwards of a year. Could he have mustered three hundred men at Vincennes, he would have marched to Detroit; and such was the effect on his little band, of a vote of thanks by the Legislature of Virginia for the capture of the posts on the Mississippi, that they would have attempted the reduction of that important post had the commander requested it. But prudence forbade the attempt, though from subsequent information there was a strong probability it would have been successful. The alliance with France had been effected, the inhabitants were principally descendants of French settlers, the haughty and tyrannical conduct of Governor Hamilton had offended them, they rejoiced at his captivity, and had prepared for a welcome reception of the Americans. But before CLARKE heard of all this, Detroit had been reinforced, and the favorable opportunity was lost. The brilliant exploits of Colonel CLARKE had, however, deranged the extensive plans of the enemy, and some of the western tribes were detached from the British interest; the limits of the United States were extended to the Mississippi, where they remained fixed; and the current of population rolled steadily onward to the West without impediment. The families before mentioned as having been left at the falls of Ohio, had taken up their abode upon an island for more easy defence; they now removed to the Kentucky shore, and founded Louisville, which soon became a place of importance, and Colonel CLARKE made it his head-quarters.

The alliance with France and the mediation of Spain excited sanguine hopes in the country that peace would soon follow, and the question of boundaries began to present itself in all its important bearings upon the future interests of the United States. It had been suggested that *possession* by either party might be the principle adopted in the final adjustment. If that principle had been contemplated by Great Britain, it might have been one of the motives which led to the subornation of Indian hostilities on the borders; but we can hardly believe that to have been the case, for Great Britain had not yet begun to view the question as one which could possibly arise. On the contrary, the Americans had no doubt that at some period not

remote, the boundaries must be defined, and as the principle of occupation might be adopted, Virginia determined to make the earliest and best use of her means in anticipation. Colonel CLARKE was, therefore, directed to select a commanding position on the Mississippi, near the southern boundary claimed by the State, and there establish a fort and garrison, and to advance his posts towards the lakes, that they might be in actual possession of, and give protection to, the State. In compliance with these orders, he built Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi. This gave umbrage to the Chickasaws, as it was erected on their hunting-ground; but full explanations being given of the object of the measure, and of its importance for their own security, as well as for that of Virginia, they became satisfied; and when the fort and garrison were afterwards attacked by hostile Indians, the Chickasaws came to their relief, and drove off the besieging force. The place was subsequently restored to the Chickasaws. In the northern quarter Colonel CLARKE proceeded with his usual judgment, combining policy with enterprise, encouraging peace among the friendly tribes, and directing against the hostile the force of those who could not be persuaded to remain inactive. His influence with the Indians was very great. He assembled four or five thousand at Vincennes to carry out his favorite project—the capture of Detroit; but, disappointed in the number of whites he had expected, and not choosing to rely almost entirely upon Indians, he was obliged to abandon the expedition. Meanwhile the British commander at Detroit was not idle. On the 1st of June, 1780, he assembled six hundred Canadians and Indians, for a secret expedition under Colonel Byrd. On the 22d, this force presented itself with two field-pieces before Ruddle's station in Kentucky, which was obliged to capitulate: Martin's station was captured immediately afterward, and the inhabitants of both were loaded with the spoil of their own dwellings, and hurried off towards Canada. A prompt retaliation was required; and when Colonel CLARKE called on the militia of Kentucky for volunteers to accompany his regiment against the Indians, there was no delay on their part. Having collected a respectable portion of the force of the country, he led it against the Shawanees on the Great Miami. A fierce conflict at Pickawa, one of their principal towns, terminated in the flight of the Indians. The town was burnt, and all the means of subsistence of the inhabitants was destroyed. Colonel CLARKE returned to the Ohio, and discharged the militia; and the Indians, being reduced to the necessity of hunting for the support of their families, gave Kentucky no further trouble that season. In December

of the same year he was in Richmond, urging the government for means to execute his favorite enterprise—the reduction of Detroit—the grand focus of Indian hostilities from the Mohawk to the Mississippi. His views were approved; but before the necessary arrangements could be completed, a British force from New-York, under Arnold, carried hostilities into the heart of the State. Colonel CLARKE took a temporary command under Baron Steuben, and participated in the active measures of that officer against the marauding traitor.

After several months had been spent in indefatigable efforts to obtain a force of two thousand men for the enterprise against Detroit, the several corps destined for the service were designated, and ordered to rendezvous on the 15th of March, 1781, at the falls of Ohio, and CLARK was raised to the rank of a Brigadier General: but unexpected and insuperable difficulties arose, and the ardent genius of the commander was confined to defensive operations. This appears to us to have been the turning point in the fortunes of the hardy warrior.

It has been our object, in the conduct of this work, to state only well-attested facts; to award merited praise; to cultivate a proper respect for the institutions, and the men of genius, and every variety of talent in our own country; and to cherish every patriotic sentiment by the influence of example. It frequently has been our pleasing study to exhibit the impulsion of individual character upon the destinies of the nation—to connect biography with history, and thus far we have so traced the career of the subject of this sketch. We have followed him over a broad field, have marked the energy, perseverance, and determination of his character; we have shown the daring bravery, the fertile genius, and the correct judgment of the individual, uniting in the achievement of exploits of permanent and national interest and honor, and impelling him onward to the accomplishment of others ot still greater benefit to his country. We must now reverse the order of our reflections, and note the effect of disappointment upon the individual, who, having done much, is conscious he can do more, but finds his future prospects blighted at the moment of their brightest promise. He had set his heart upon destroying the British influence throughout the whole north-western territory. Could he have had the means which he required, his advancement in rank would, no doubt, have been gratifying; but without a General's command, a General's commission was of no value. Dangers and hardships he would have disregarded; but with his small force, to be stationed on the frontier to repel the inroads of a few predatory bands of Indians when he was eager to carry the war to the lakes, was more than he

could bear, and it preyed upon his spirit. He was a lion chained, but he was still a lion, and so the enemy found him in 1782. When the news of the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks reached General CLARKE, he took immediate measures to rouse the country from its anguish and despondency, and to carry the war once more into the enemy's territory.

In September of that year a thousand mounted riflemen assembled on the banks of the Ohio, and were put in motion by the General for the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto. The expedition was conducted with the celerity to be expected from the quality and temper of the troops. The Indians fled before them, and not more than twelve were killed or taken. Five of their towns were reduced to ashes, and all their provisions were destroyed; the effect of which was, that no formidable party of Indians ever afterward invaded Kentucky.

In the course of the ensuing two years, the Kentuckians found themselves in circumstances of restraint. Peace had taken place, but they were threatened with Indian hostilities: these, if brought into their own district, they could repel; but experience had often proved that the best defence against Indians was to anticipate their attacks, and this they had not now the right to do, as the territory north-west of the Ohio had been ceeded to the United States, and Kentucky was still a part of Virginia. The remedy proposed at this time was a separation from Virginia, the formation of an independent State, and admission to the Union. Conventions were called, delegates appointed to consult on, and take measures for, the future safety of the district, and for the redress of real and imaginary grievances. This was a period of agitation in Kentucky, and agitators were there who knew, or thought they knew, how to take advantage of the popular feelings. James Wilkinson, whose name, both before and since, has been united with the most remarkable intrigues and plots in the history of our country, was then a settler at Lexington, and had gained an ascendency; and the name of the hitherto most popular man west of the mountains is not to be found among the delegates on any occasion during this period. Congress, however, had not forgotten him; and he was appointed, in March, 1784, with four other gentlemen, to negotiate friendly treaties with the Indians. Several treaties were made, but the only remarkable incident which we have seen recorded is described in the *Notes of an Old Officer*. The Indians came in to the treaty at Fort Washington (January, 1786,) in the most friendly manner, except the Shawanees, the most conceited and warlike of the

aborigines; the first in at a battle, the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest warriors, set off in all their paint and feathers, filed into the council-house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States' stockade mustered 70 men. In the centre of the hall, at a little table, sat General CLARKE—the indefatigable scourge of these marauders—General Butler, and Mr. Parsons. On the part of the Indians, an old council-sachem and a war-chief took the lead. The latter, a tall, raw-boned fellow, with an impudent and villainous look, made a threatening speech, which operated effectually on the Indians, who set up a whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify their readiness for peace or war. General CLARKE retained an unaltered and careless countenance throughout, and with his cane pushed the wampum off the table. Every Indian started from his seat with one of those sudden, startling sounds which express their indignation. General CLARKE also arose, and casting upon the savage group a scornful glance, put his foot upon the insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so, and all night they were heard debating near the fort. In the morning they came back, and sued for peace.

In the same year, and but a few months after the ratification of the treaties, a new army was raised, to march against the Indians on the Wabash. The nations had made peace, but the individuals would wage war, and the governments on either side of the Ohio could not control their subjects. General CLARKE, at the head of a thousand men, again entered the Indian country. Having reached the vicinity of Vincennes the troops were halted nine days, to give time for the provisions and ammunition and provisions to come up, which had been sent by water. The boats had been delayed upon the river, and when they arrived half the provision they brought was spoiled. A spirit of discontent had already manifested itself in camp, and now became more apparent. The troops were, however, put in motion, and advanced; but a rumor was circulated that the General had despatched a messenger with the offer of peace or war; this converted restlessness into disaffection among the troops, which was fomented by some of their officers into mutiny; and when within two days' march of the Indian town, three hundred men turned their backs upon the camp. The General, who saw the ruinous consequences of this revolt, addressed them in the most conciliating terms, but in vain. The expedition was abandoned; and—"General Wilkinson, who was at the falls of Ohio, wrote to a friend in Fayette, 'that the sun of

General CLARKE's military glory had set, never more to rise.'" The author of the history of Kentucky says, "There was much meaning in this sentence, which those who had fathomed Wilkinson knew how to interpret and appreciate. Rumors were, indeed, unfavorable to General CLARKE; but those rumors had been set afloat by his enemies, who wanted an apology for their own conduct; and who, in turn, were accused of fomenting the insubordination and mutiny, of which they availed themselves to terminate the campaign dishonorably. Candor, however, extorts a confession, that is made with regret, that General CLARKE, at this time, 'was not the man he had been.' A high sense of injustice and neglect had been left to corrode his mind, by the government whose territory he had enlarged, and whose reputation he had raised to renown. This had produced a chagrin, which, in the mortification and ennui incident to the want of employment, had sought extinguishment in the free use of ardent spirits."

Several years elapsed before the name of General CLARKE again appeared in connexion with public affairs. Meanwhile, Kentucky had become one of the States of the Union. The insolent conduct of the French minister, Genet, is known to every reader of American history. He had been in the country but a few months, when he set on foot a clandestine expedition from Kentucky against the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi, and GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE was furnished with a commission, as a Major-General in the armies of France, to organise and conduct it; but before the project was put in execution, a counter revolution occurred in France, Genet was recalled, his doings disavowed, and CLARKE's commission annulled. Thus terminated his public career. In place of the observations to which we should be led by the varied incidents of the previous narrative, we subjoin the following extract from Judge Hall's Sketches of the West, as furnishing an appropriate commentary on the instability of fortune and the vanity of ambition.

"When General GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE, the Hannibal of the west, captured Kaskaskia, he made his head-quarters at the house of a Mr. Michel A——, one of the wealthiest inhabitants. Michel lived in a capital French house, enveloped with piazzas and surrounded by gardens—all in the most approved style. He was a merry, contented, happy man; abounding in good living and good stories, and as hospitable as any gentleman whatever. The General remained his guest some time, treated with the greatest kindness and attention, and took leave of Mr. A—— with a high respect for his character and a grateful sense of his warm-hearted hospitality. Years rolled

away; the General had retired from public life, and was dwelling in a humble log-house in Indiana, a disappointed man. His brilliant services had not been appreciated by his country; his political prospects had been blighted; he was unemployed and unhappy—a proud man, conscious of merit, pining away his life in obscurity. One day, as he strolled along the banks of the Ohio, he espied a circle of French boatmen, the crew of a barge, who were seated round a fire on the beach, smoking their pipes and singing their merry French songs. One voice arrested his ear—it was that of his old friend Michel; he could not mistake the blithe tones, and ever buoyant humor, of his former host. He approached, and there sat Michel in the garb of a boatman, with a red cap on his head, the merriest of the circle. They recognised each other instantly. Michel was glad to see the General, and invited him to take a seat on the log beside him with as much unembarrassed hospitality as if he had still been in his spacious house, surrounded by his train of servants. He had suddenly been reduced from affluence to poverty—from a prosperous gentleman, who lived comfortably on his estate, to a boatman—the cook, if we mistake not, of a barge. Although a man of vivacity and strong mind, he was illiterate and unsuspecting. The change of government had brought in new laws, new customs, and keener speculators than the honest French had been accustomed to deal with, and Michel was ruined. But he was as happy as ever; while his friend, the General, whose change of circumstances had not been so sudden or complete, was a moody, discontented man. Such is the diversity of national character."

General CLARKE never was married. He was long in infirm health, and was severely afflicted with a rheumatic affection, which terminated in paralysis, and deprived him of the use of one limb. After suffering under this disease for several years, it finally caused his death in February 1818. He died and was buried at Locust Grove, near Louisville, Kentucky. J. H.

Engraved by E.W. Leslie, from a portrait by J. W. Morgan Painted for the National Portrait Gallery, and in possession of James B. Lantigan

Simon Stevin

SIMON KENTON.

To many of our readers the name of General Simon Kenton is now probably presented for the first time: he belonged to a class of hardy pioneers, to whose exertions and privations the present race of civilized man in the west is greatly indebted. He was one of the first white men who planted corn in the now great and wealthy state of Kentucky; as such, we have in his biography to deal with "hair breadth 'scapes," and the usual amount of deadly warfare, which characterized the period of the early settlement of the banks of the Ohio. To preserve from oblivion the characters of men who were the instruments to prepare the way for peopling the western states, is the duty of the biographer. Simon Kenton's memory and brave conduct should be cherished, and his name should descend to posterity with those of Boon, Clark, and others.

Our hero was born in the month of March, 1755, in Fauquier county, Virginia. His father emigrated from Ireland, and his mother was of Scottish descent, her ancestors having been among the first settlers of Virginia. His parents being in middling circumstances, he was employed till the age of sixteen in the cultivation of corn and tobacco. At that period an incident occurred which changed the destiny of his future life.

One of his father's neighbors, named Veach, had a son who married a lady to whom young Kenton was attached; some circumstances occurred at the wedding, which Simon attended without invitation, that were construed by him into an affront; he was struck during the evening by William Veach, while in the act of drinking; and not content with this indignity, while prostrate from the blow, William gave him a severe beating, which sent him home with black eyes and sore bruises. He felt himself disgraced, and in silence determined to be revenged. Watching his opportunity, he soon after found himself alone with Veach, and challenged him to the combat. He would accept of no apology. Being victorious over his fallen adversary, Kenton, roused by the remembrance of

the insult to double fury, exhibited so little mercy to his foe, that when his anger was expended he was greatly alarmed at the appearance of Veach, whom he thought, from his inanimate features, must be dead. Perceiving no signs of returning life, and greatly alarmed at the consequences of his blind fury, he started for home. By the way, reflection on the consequences of his conduct filled him with alarm; the horrors of punishment, and probably of the gibbet, overcame his resolution of returning, and he resolved on instant flight. Without waiting to see and consult his parents or friends, he struck off in a northwestern direction, and crossed the Alleghany mountains on the 6th of April, 1771. At Ise's ford he changed his name to that of Simon Butler. A prey to remorse at having committed a crime so contrary to his natural disposition, he fell in with three men who were preparing to descend the Ohio river; and having previously by his labor procured a good rifle, he joined the party, and proceeded to Fort Pitt, (now Pittsburg.) Here he formed a friendship with the notorious Simon Girty, who was the means, at a future period, of his rescue from the Indians when doomed to the stake. The party he had joined being given up, KENTON associated himself with another, and descended the river, occasionally stopping at any point where pleasure or the prospect of game tempted them to halt, hunting, trapping, or dancing with the Indian girls, until they arrived at the mouth of the Great Kenawha, and thence up Elk river, where they built a camp and employed the winter in trapping. In the spring of 1772, they descended the river to the Ohio, where they sold their peltry to a French trader, and procured ammunition and clothing.

Left now for a year in doubt as to the fact of his being a murderer, he appears to have conceived that, as he intended no such act, he was in reality not guilty; his anxiety was all turned upon those whom he had left in ignorance of his own fate. The summer of 1772 was passed in hunting, and the winter in the old camp, where in March the party was surprised by Indians, and one of their number killed; the others escaped with their lives, leaving every thing else to their enemy. With legs and bodies lacerated and inflamed, KENTON and a companion, on the sixth day, met another party near the mouth of the Kenawha, by whom they were received with kindness. Their wounds being dressed, they entered the employment of Mr. Briscoe, then endeavouring to form a settlement on the Great Kenawha, contemporaneously with the founding of Wheeling, Grave Creek, and Long Reach. KENTON again

employed his first earnings in procuring a good rifle, and immediately joined a trapping party and proceeded to the Ohio. After various adventures, we find him, in 1774, when an Indian war became inevitable, with the other strollers on the river retreating to Fort Pitt. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, having raised an army to chastise the aggressors, KENTON was employed as a spy to precede the troops and report the condition of the country. The army crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Hockhocking, and cautiously proceeded to the Pickaway towns, on the Scioto, where the natives sued for peace. No sooner was this granted and the troops safely ensconced in Fort Pitt, than the treaty was broken, and Colonel Lewis was sent to enforce the articles or chastise the enemy, and KENTON's services were again in requisition. On his discharge he turned to his old pursuit of trapping, in the course of which, finding a fine cane-growing tract of land back of Limestone, now Maysville, in Kentucky, the party formed a camp, and with their tomahawks commenced clearing a small piece of ground: from the remains of some corn, procured from a French trader for the purpose of parching, they selected a small quantity, and planted, it is believed, the first corn on the north side of Kentucky river. Tending their crop with no other implement than their tomahawks, they remained undisputed masters of the soil until they had the pleasure of eating roasting ears and of seeing their infant plantation produce the ripened fruit. This spot, called Kenton's station, was about one mile from the present town of Washington, in Mason county.

On making an excursion in search of buffalo, then roving in vast herds in Kentucky, he met another settler, named Stoner, who advised him to try a spot further south, and he passed the winter forty-five miles from his late residence. In the spring, the American revolution being in progress, and the natives stimulated by the British to destroy the infant settlements, the white men were obliged to flee. KENTON joined Major (afterwards General) George Rogers Clark, sent out by Virginia to protect the settlers. On their return with a party from an excursion, made to bring in a supply of ammunition that had been deposited on an island in the Ohio by Major Clark, they found the people at their fort in such a state of alarm, from a recent attack of the savages, that it was resolved to abandon it and join the station called Harrod's, where a terrible siege was sustained with unflinching courage, in the midst of alarms and carnage. KENTON again accepted the office of spy, or scout,

and by his faithful discharge of his arduous duties, proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him; he was always successful in giving the fort timely notice of a meditated attack, and to assist in preparing for defence. If we had space to describe the perilous encounters between KENTON and the Indians at this period, our narrative would present a series of daring deeds and courageous effort quite equal to the most renowned in western annals. The sufferings of the garrison were extreme; their cattle were carried off or destroyed, and neither corn nor other vegetables could be cultivated.

KENTON now accompanied Major Clark on an expedition to Okaw, or Kaskaskia, where they surprised the French commander, and took possession of the fort. He was then despatched to ascertain the strength of the fort at Vincennes, which having accomplished after three days' lurking in the neighbourhood, he sent one of his companions with the intelligence to Clark, while he and another prosecuted their journey to Harrodsburgh. He then joined several expeditions under Daniel Boon, and signalized his courage to the entire satisfaction of that celebrated pioneer.

Ease becoming irksome to our hero, in 1778, he joined Alexander Montgomery and George Clark in an expedition to Ohio, with the avowed purpose of obtaining horses from the Indians; proceeding cautiously to Chillicothe, they fell in with a drove of horses that were feeding in the rich prairies, and capturing seven, travelled at full speed for the river. On reaching the Ohio, the horses refused to breast the surge raised by a high wind. Satisfied that they were pursued, they were about to cross and leave their prizes, but unwilling to abandon their valuable capture, they were endeavouring to collect them for another attempt, when KENTON heard a whoop which alarmed him for the safety of the party. Tying his horse, he crept with stealthy tread to observe his enemy. Just as he reached the high bank he met the Indians on horseback; raising his trusty rifle, he took aim at the foremost rider; his gun flashed, and he was obliged to retreat. Amidst fallen trees, he was in a fair way to elude his pursuers, when a warrior pounced upon him, and a second slipping behind him, clasped him in his arms. Overpowered by numbers, he surrendered after a desperate resistance. Montgomery boldly attempted his rescue, but was shot, and his bloody scalp exhibited in triumph to the prisoner. Clark made his escape. The captive was treated in the usual brutal manner, tied to an unruly horse, and marched back towards the village. At night he

was laid on his back, his legs extended, drawn apart, and fastened to two saplings or stakes, while his arms were extended and made fast to a pole. A rope was fastened round his neck and tied to another stake. In this miserable state he passed three wretched nights, a prey to gnats, mosquetoes, and the cold. On arriving at Old Town, or Chillicothe, he was beaten in the most cruel manner, and doomed to run the gauntlet. Breaking through the lines of warriors, each armed with a hickory whip, he was about to escape to the town for refuge, when an idle Indian fresh for the chase, whom he met, soon overtook and threw him. In a moment the whole party in pursuit came up, and fell to cuffing and kicking him with all their fury; his clothes were all stripped from him, and he was left naked and exhausted. Some humane squaws revived him with food, and he was taken to the council house to be tried for his life.

Sentence of death was formally passed upon the prisoner, and his place of execution it was resolved should be Wepatomika, (now Zanesville.) Next morning he was hurried away to the place of execution, and on the road was severely whipped and maltreated. Attempting to escape, he was caught and more closely pinioned; the young men rolled him in the mud, and brought him to the brink of the grave. At Wapatomika, among others who came to see him was his quondam acquaintance Simon Girty, who recognised KENTON, and by his influence and eloquence in the council, persuaded the Indians to give him into his charge. With him he lived a wild, Indian-like life for some time, but the savages having returned from an unsuccessful foray, sent for KENTON, and at a grand council he was again sentenced to die, all the efforts of Girty proving on this occasion unavailing; he, however, finally persuaded them to convey their prisoner to Sandusky, where vast numbers would be collected to receive their presents from the British government; to this place he was conducted by five Indians; on the route, the compassion of the celebrated chief, Logan, was excited in his behalf, and at Logan's instigation, a Canadian Frenchman appeared at the council of Upper Sandusky, who succeeded in having him taken to Detroit and delivered up as a prisoner of war to the British.

At Detroit, KENTON was handed over to the commanding officer, and lodged in the fort as a prisoner of war. The British officer gave the Indians some remuneration for his life, and they left him free from apprehensions of the faggot and the tomahawk. His health was soon restored. Drawing half rations from the British, he earned some money by dint of hard work. Leisure from scenes

of active life was, however, not consonant with his feelings or habits, and the winter of 1778–79 passed heavily. Among the prisoners were some of his old associates, with two of whom KENTON concerted, in the spring, a plan of escape. In this they were aided by a lady of the place, the wife of an Indian trader, named Harvey, who had formed a friendship for one of them. By her assistance, guns, ammunition, and food, were procured and secreted in a hollow tree near the town. Early one morning they left Detroit. Steering their course by the stars, they eluded pursuit and gained the prairie, where they depended for sustenance on their rifles. In thirty-three days they reached the falls of the Ohio, in July, 1779.

KENTON thence proceeded to Vincennes to join his old companion in arms, General Clark: alone he traversed the whole distance without any serious adventure; but finding the fort in a state of inglorious quiet, he returned. He distinguished himself during the invasion of Kentucky by the British and Indians in 1779, having been appointed a captain, and commanding an active and numerous company of volunteers, principally from Harrod's station, who traversed the untrodden wilderness and drove all opposition before them.

After the disbanding of his company, KENTON remained in the employ of the several stations till 1782. At this period he heard, for the first time, from his long-abandoned parents, and learned that William Veach had recovered and was still living. He now assumed his own name, and after commanding another successful expedition against the marauding Indians on the Great Miami, he returned to Harrod's, and having acquired some valuable lands, concluded to make a settlement on a fertile spot on Salt river. A few families joined him, reared block-houses, cleared some ground, and planted corn; which being gathered, he concluded to visit his parents. After thirteen years absence, passed amidst scenes of great privation and suffering, he had the satisfaction of finding his father and all his family living. He visited Veach, and their old quarrel was mutually forgiven. His glowing descriptions of the fertility of Kentucky induced his parents to accompany him on his return, and the family set out for the promised land, but his father died ere their journey was accomplished. KENTON remained at Salt river till July, 1784, and had the pleasure of witnessing the growth of his settlement, to which numerous emigrants now flocked. He thence removed to near Maysville, where he formed the first permanent

station on the northeast side of Licking river. Throngs of emigrants were attracted to the spot: the Indians were successfully kept at bay by the activity and intelligence of the master spirit of KENTON, who was ever foremost when danger threatened, and who was looked up to as the main dependence in case of difficulty or discouragement. His opponent was sometimes the celebrated chief Tecumseh, whose tact and intrepidity it was not always in the power of our veteran to conquer.

In 1793, General Wayne came down the Ohio with the regular army, and formed an encampment below Cincinnati, called Hobson's choice. Making a requisition for men on Kentucky, KENTON was, among the number, placed as a major at the head of as choice spirits as ever guarded a frontier, and was employed in various services. As little was effected by this party, our narrative need not be detained in relating the particular events of the campaign. The Indian war was now happily terminated, and an unprecedented number of emigrants were attracted to the shores of the Ohio. Land became valuable; and as there was great irregularity and want of precision in the first entries and surveys, the foundation was laid for those subsequent disputes which have given occasion to a series of litigation, involving the hard-earned estates of the original settlers too frequently in ruin. Although KENTON was considered one of the wealthiest inhabitants in real estate, yet one of his land claims failed after another, till he was completely involved in a labyrinth of lawsuits. Every advantage was taken of his want of education and ignorance of the law, which in a few years stripped this honest man of his hardly-earned wealth, and sent him, in the evening of his days, penniless and dejected, to spend his few remaining years in comparative poverty and want.

About the year 1800, he abandoned the soil which he had rendered tenantable by his courage and endurance, and settled on the waters of the Mad river, in the state of Ohio. In 1805, he was made a brigadier-general of militia. In 1810, he joined the Methodist church, and experienced that consolation which religion alone can impart.

In 1812, when more than sixty years of age, some of his youthful fire still remained, and he was wont to converse with spirit of his former deeds of arms. In 1813, when his old companion, Governor Shelby, came to Urbana at the head of the Kentucky troops, KENTON could remain no longer inactive. He mounted his horse and joined the venerable governor, who gladly received him as a privi-

leged member of his military family. He crossed the lake, and accompanied General Harrison and Governor Shelby to Malden, and thence to the Thames; was present in the battle, and played his part with his usual intrepidity. Here ended the military career of Simon Kenton, a man who has probably passed through as great a variety of border adventures as any of our most renowned western pioneers.

About ten years since, the American government awarded Kenton a meager pension, which secured him from absolute want in his declining years. His narrative, had it been prepared at length with suitable care, would have formed a volume not less interesting than the most marvellous fiction. Enough has been here related to exhibit the outlines of a character remarkable for its power of endurance and its intrepidity. Like all the hardy sons of the west, Kenton's hospitality was always commensurate with his means: during his prosperity his house was open to the wealthy emigrant and the benighted traveller. Many of the descendants of the earlier settlers still cherish the memory of his virtues.

The portrait from which our engraving has been made, and which is certified by the immediate friends and neighbours of General Kenton to be a most accurate likeness, was taken at his residence expressly for this work, and but about three months before his death.

This stanch pioneer, the companion of Boon, whose adventures he emulated and equalled, died in Logan county, Ohio, on the 3d day of April, 1836, aged about eighty-two. How astonishing is it, when we look over Kentucky, Ohio, and the surrounding states, now teeming with millions of civilized inhabitants, to reflect that one who wandered through them when beasts of prey and the more savage Indian were their sole occupants, has but just fallen into the grave!

Engraved by J Groas from a drawing by W. J. Armstrong after a Miniature by Isabey

Joshua Barney

JOSHUA BARNEY.

THE reputation of her citizens should be dear to every member of the Union. The number and merit of their services is, indeed, often the only patrimony of their children, but the effect of their example cannot pass away, whilst Honor continues to point to their deeds, in the pages of the history of their country. No state has produced more or brighter examples of bravery and patriotism than the gallant state of Maryland, where the subject of this notice was born, on the 6th of July, 1759, at Baltimore. He discovered early an inclination for the sea, and after making several voyages, was second mate at the early age of fourteen years, and was, by the accidental death of his captain, placed in command of a vessel when only sixteen. A series of adventures, having the character more of romance than reality, attended this sudden and early responsibility, not the least singular of which was his detention at Alicant, and his compulsory service in the ill-conducted and disastrous expedition fitted out against Algiers by the king of Spain, and entrusted to the unfortunate Count O'Reilly. Released by the defeat of the Spaniards, he returned home, arrived in the Chesapeake Bay on the 1st of October, 1775, and learned from the officers of a British sloop of war, who boarded him, that that Revolution which was to call forth in him a devotion to native land that has never been surpassed, was already begun. His services were quickly offered to his country; he became master's mate of the sloop *Hornet*, of ten guns, and was the first to unfurl, in Maryland, the *American* flag, whose honor he afterwards so often and so well sustained. This, his first service, was as a *volunteer*, and he continued to act as such until his appointment as *lieutenant* in the navy, which took place in June, 1776.

On the 6th of July, 1776, Lieutenant BARNEY sailed from Philadelphia in the sloop Sachem, commanded by Captain Isaiah Robinson, and very soon fell in with and captured a letter of marque brig, well

armed, after a very severe action of two hours. Transferred to the Andrea Doria, of fourteen guns, in consequence of the shattered condition of the Sachem, Captain Robinson and Lieutenant BARNEY sailed again from the port of Philadelphia, into which they had been so fortunate as to bring their prize, for St. Eustatia, took in a cargo of small arms and ammunition for the army, engaged and captured the Racehorse of twelve guns, fitted out expressly with a *picked crew* to intercept and take the Andrea Doria, and commanded by a lieutenant of the royal navy. It became his lot, however, to be taken prisoner by the enemy in January, 1777—a prize, on board of which he was prize-master, being retaken by the Perseus, of twenty guns, then cruising off Cape Henry. He was carried into Charleston, South Carolina, and there released on his parole. Upwards of eight months passed before his exchange for Lieutenant Moriarty of the Solebay was effected; a period of time not unprofitably spent, for it was devoted to study.

In December, 1777, Lieutenant BARNEY was appointed to the Virginia frigate, and remained in her till her capture, on the 1st of April following, by the British squadron in the Chesapeake. Another period of imprisonment—an exchange and return to Baltimore, were the precursors of new adventures, among which two engagements—the capture of a British letter of marque and a voyage to France—were the most important, particularly the last; for that resulted in pecuniary benefit, and probably led him to form the most important connection of his life. He married the daughter of Gunning Bedford, Esq., of Philadelphia, on the 16th of March, 1780.

After remaining some time ashore, Lieutenant BARNEY was ordered to the United States' ship Saratoga, of sixteen guns, Captain Young, and sailed from Philadelphia on a cruise. Various prizes were made, and, among others, an English ship of thirty-two guns and ninety men, carried by Lieutenant BARNEY, who boarded her with fifty men under the smoke of a broadside; and after a severe conflict, hauled down her colors. Ordered to bring his prize in, he steered for the Delaware; but after stopping a formidable leak in her, he was captured by a squadron of the enemy, landed at Plymouth in England, after enduring treatment that was never forgotten, and confined in Mill Prison.

Our limits do not permit us to relate the various adventures which followed a well-laid and successfully conducted plan of escape. After remaining some time at large in England, he reached Margate, took passage in a packet for Ostend, and finally reached the

Beverly, Massachusetts. He arrived in Philadelphia on the 21st of March, 1782.

We approach the best known, if it be not at the same time the most brilliant, exploit of his life. The tories, with numerous craft, had a force sufficient, aided by the presence of several British men of war, to cause the greatest annoyance, during the spring of 1782, to the commerce of Philadelphia. The state of Pennsylvania undertook to destroy these freebooters, and a force was organized under her authority for that purpose. The offer of one of the vessels, a small ship carrying sixteen six pounders and a hundred and ten men, equipped principally through the liberality and enterprise of citizens of Philadelphia, was made to Lieutenant BARNEY, who took command of her a few days after his return home. This vessel was the "Hyder Ally." She sailed on the 8th of April, 1782, with a fleet of merchantmen, under instructions to convoy them to the Capes, and then to return for the protection of the Delaware. Upon reaching Cape May road, the convoy were approached by two ships and a brig of the enemy's forces, and immediately got under weigh in obedience to a signal, and began to run up the bay. The brig first approached, and gave the Hyder Ally a broadside, and passed on after the merchantmen. The broadside was not returned, as one of the enemy's ships was fast approaching—into her, as soon as she came within pistol shot, Captain BARNEY poured a tremendous fire; and, as she was ranging alongside, by a prompt manœuvre, caught her jib-boom in the Hyder Ally's fore rigging, thus obtaining a position which enabled him to rake her with such effect, that in twenty-six minutes her colors were struck. The enemy's other ship (the Quebec frigate) was by this time very near, and the first lieutenant of the Hyder Ally and thirty-five men were quickly put on board the prize, which was despatched with all speed up the bay. Having outsailed the frigate, the prize was hailed by Captain BARNEY, who found her to be his Britannic Majesty's ship the "General Monk," mounting twenty nine pounders, with a crew of one hundred and thirty-six men, commanded by Captain Josiah Rodgers of the royal navy. The General Monk had twenty men killed, including the first lieutenant, purser, surgeon, boatswain, and gunner; and thirty-three wounded, among whom were Captain Rodgers and all the officers of the ship, with the exception of one midshipman. The loss on board the Hyder Ally was four men killed, and eleven were wounded. Captain BARNEY escaped unhurt, though a musket ball passed through his hat and another tore his coat.

The mortification of the British at this capture was extreme;* the triumph of the Americans was expressed in congratulatory addresses; the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a vote of thanks to Captain BARNEY, and also presented him, in the name of the state, with a sword, superbly mounted with gold, and bearing the proper emblematic representation of his victory. The ballads of the day—for in those days they wrote ballads—celebrated his valor and good conduct; and there were few to whom the fame of "the roaring Hyder Ally" and her gallant commander was unknown.

The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania authorized the purchase of the General Monk, and her name being changed to that of the "General Washington," Captain BARNEY was commissioned as her commander on the 16th of May, 1782. He proceeded in her to Havana upon an important service; and, having accomplished it, returned to Philadelphia, where he arrived in safety, after having the satisfaction of making a successful attack upon a number of refugee barges in the Delaware Bay, sinking and destroying them, and recapturing a number of vessels of which they had taken possession.

Selected, in October, 1782, to carry out to Dr. Franklin the instructions of his own government before the British commissioners should arrive at Paris, Captain BARNEY passed the British force at the mouth of the Delaware, and arrived in seventeen days at L'Orient. He returned to Philadelphia on the 12th of March, 1783, bearing the news of peace—having been furnished with the king of Great Britain's passport for the "ship *General Washington*, belonging to the United States of North America."

Peace brought with it occupations of a character widely different from those in which Captain BARNEY had been accustomed to be engaged. He was appointed to civil office, but the sea seemed his element; and in the summer of 1790 he projected a voyage to South America, and was engaged in various enterprizes of a commercial nature until 1793, when his ship, the Sampson, was taken, on the 14th of July, by three privateers from Jamaica and New Providence. The firmness and decision of character for which he was so remarkable, soon evinced itself in the recapture of his vessel, five days after her capture, with the aid of his carpenter and boatswain, after a short conflict, in which he wounded one of the three English prize officers

* It seems to have lasted for almost half a century. See the account of the action in Warner's Literary Recollections, Vol. I. p. 324, London, 1830. He describes the action as "long and desperate—tremendous was the *carnage* on both sides;" and avers that Captain Rodgers's antagonist was "greatly his superior in tonnage, guns, and men."

severely. He arrived in Baltimore early in August, bringing his English captors with him.

Having made the proper disposition of his late prisoners, Captain BARNEY sailed for Cape François, to arrange his unsettled business in the Island of St. Domingo. Having settled it, he sailed on the last of December, 1793, from Port au Prince, for Baltimore, and the next day was captured by the British frigate Penelope, Captain Rowley, who, after behaving to him in a manner to lessen the fame of his country's service, carried him and his captured vessel, the Sampson, into Jamaica. The Grand Jury of the Admiralty Court found a bill against him for *Piracy*, and another for "shooting with intent to kill," founded upon the recapture of his *own* vessel, and wounding one of the captors, as has been already related. He was, however, triumphantly acquitted by the *jury;* but his ship's cargo was condemned as prize by the *judge* in the proceedings against them. It must not be supposed that during these unexampled proceedings against him he was forgotten by his country or his friends. The statement which Captain BARNEY made of his case called forth the prompt interference of his government. A vigorous remonstrance was addressed by the secretary of state to the British minis ter on the subject,—General Washington declared his determination to avenge any punishment inflicted upon him by the most prompt retaliation—and he granted a special permission to a pilot boat from Baltimore, manned with volunteers and despatched by his friends, to proceed to his relief; an embargo, laid on all the ports of the United States, having rendered such permission necessary. After intolerable suffering and fatigue, the crew of the pilot boat arrived in her at Jamaica, and the despatches they carried to the governor from the British minister produced a change in the personal treatment of Captain BARNEY, but they did not restore his property.

After his return to Baltimore, Captain BARNEY was appointed to command one of the six vessels authorized by congress, which formed the then navy of the United States. The letter of the secretary of war, announcing his appointment to him, stated the relative rank of the captains to be John Barry, Samuel Nicholson, Silas Talbot, JOSHUA BARNEY, Richard Dale, Thomas Truxton. This appointment he declined on the 7th of June, 1794, the day he received notice of it, on the ground that the appointment placed him in order of rank below Silas Talbot, who had been a lieutenant colonel in the army, but was without any experience as a naval officer.

Being thus at liberty to attend to his private affairs, Captain BARNEY

sailed for France, to settle, if possible, some of the claims on the government of that country arising out of his former St. Domingo voyages. He was a fellow-passenger with Mr. Monroe, then minister to that country, who, on the 14th of September, 1794, selected him as the bearer of the American flag presented to the National Convention. This body decreed that he should be employed in the navy of the Republic; and, just before his return to the United States, he was offered, by the minister of marine, the command of the Alexander, a seventy-four gun ship, not long before taken from the British—a circumstance to him of no trifling import; but his private affairs prevented him from accepting the flattering offer, and until they were arranged he declined an appointment. Subsequently he received the appointments of *Capitaine de Vaisseau*, and *Chef de Division des Armées Navales*, and before the end of May, 1795, he sailed from Rochfort with two fine frigates, *La Harmonie* of forty-four guns, on board of which he hoisted his flag, and *La Railleuse* of thirty-six guns, bound for St. Domingo. He continued in the French service, actively and efficiently engaged, and encountering constant peril and adventure, until 1802, when he resigned; and after having received ample testimony of the merit of his services, returned to the United States in October of that year.

To arrange affairs left during eight years' absence to the care of others, and to establish himself at home for the rest of his days, became the immediate object of Commodore Barney's attention. In the year 1804, the sentence of the court at Jamaica condemning the Sampson and her cargo, was reversed, and their value ordered to be restored; and in the course of the following year he received a handsome remittance from Paris on account of his claims upon the French Government.

The attack upon the Chesapeake frigate excited in Commodore Barney, in a high degree, the feelings which pervaded the nation at the outrageous insult offered to it; and on that occasion he wrote to Mr. Jefferson, the president of the United States, to offer his services, asking to be "employed in any manner which might be thought conducive to the good of his country"—an offer which he repeated to Mr. Madison in 1809.

The declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, found Commodore Barney on his farm, in Anne Arundel county (Md.); but he remained there a very short time. Less than three weeks after its annunciation, he was on board an armed vessel, the Rossie, of ten guns, in which, during a short cruise, he did the enemy incredible

damage, and captured a letter of marque and a king's packet, the latter after a severe action.

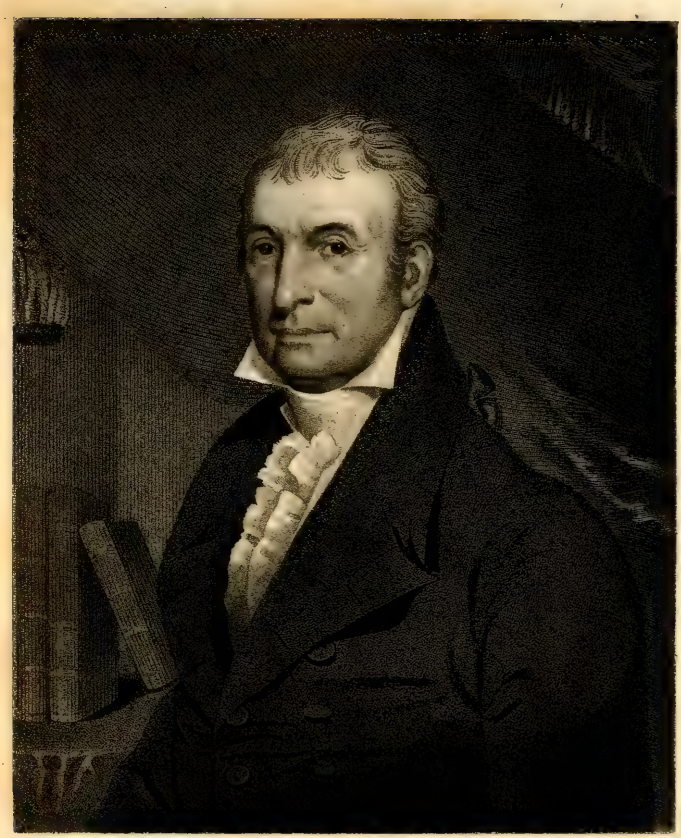
The command of the *Flotilla*, fitted out at Baltimore to protect the Chesapeake Bay, was offered to him in 1813, but he was unable to commence his operations till April 1814. He engaged the British forces sent against him from the squadron on the 1st, 7th, 9th, and 10th of June following, with great gallantry and very decisive effect. These engagements were but the prelude to more serious operations. The British had determined to attack Baltimore and Washington; and with the view to be within reach of either place on the occasion of an attempt upon it, Commodore BARNEY moved his flotilla up the Patuxent as far as Nottingham, a village on that river about forty miles from Washington, where he learned, on the 16th of August, that the enemy had entered and were ascending the river. The orders of the secretary of the navy, to whom he communicated the intelligence by express, were, to run the flotilla as far up the river as possible, and upon the enemy landing, to destroy it, and march to join General Winder's army with the men.

The British landed on the 21st of August at Benedict, and directed the march of their forces upon Washington. Upon receiving intelligence of their approach, Commodore BARNEY landed with upwards of four hundred men, leaving about a hundred men to blow up the flotilla, then a short distance above Pig Point, if attacked, and likely to fall into the hands of the enemy. On the 22d of August he joined General Winder's army at the Woodyard, where he found Captain Miller,* with eighty marines and five pieces of heavy artillery, placed under his command by the secretary of the navy. On the 24th of August he marched to Bladensburg, and pressing on, he found the American forces drawn up, and covering the road for some distance west of the town, and shortly after they became engaged with the British. He formed his own men, and arranged his artillery in battery, and had scarcely so done before the enemy appeared in the road, and advanced upon him. He opened his fire upon them with admirable precision, and such destructive effect, as to drive them from the road at the first discharge; they rallied and returned, but it was to meet the same result. They turned off to a field on their left, with the view to avoid the battery and continue their advance; but Commodore BARNEY, observing the movement, directed the marines under Captains Miller and Sevier, and the flotilla men acting as infantry,

* Now Colonel Miller—1837.

to charge them, whilst he poured a destructive fire upon their flank. The charge was executed with great celerity and determination; the veterans of the 86th and 4th, or "King's Own," giving way before it, and flying, pursued by their assailants—the sailors crying out to "board them,"—until they got into a ravine covered with woods, leaving their wounded officers, among whom was Colonel Thornton, who had led them on, in the possession of the Americans. It would have been well for the honor of America, if all who were present on that day had behaved with the same decision and effect as Commodore BARNEY and his command; but whilst *they* were sustaining the credit of their country, the other troops had disappeared, and in the confusion of their retreat, the wagon containing the ammunition for his cannon and small arms had been carried off. The British light troops acting *en tirailleur*, had, in consequence of the total absence of any support, gained positions on his flanks near enough to produce effect with their fire, and to wound and kill several of his best officers—Captains Miller and Sevier had both been wounded in charging the enemy; and Commodore BARNEY himself, after having had his horse killed under him, received a musket ball in the thigh. The force of the enemy was constantly increasing, for the want of ammunition prevented the only effective resistance they had met with from being continued; and an order was given to retreat, which the officers and men who were able to march effected in excellent order; but the Commodore's wound rendered him unable to move, and he was made prisoner. He was treated by General Ross with great attention and care, paroled upon the ground, and conveyed to Bladensburg, where he remained until the 27th of August, when he was conveyed to his farm at Elkridge.

On the 8th of October, 1814, Commodore BARNEY was exchanged, and on the 10th resumed the command of the flotilla; but the news of peace, received in February, 1815, rendered his services no longer necessary to his country. With the exception of a voyage to Europe as the bearer of despatches, selected by the president, to the American plenipotentiaries, he returned no more to public life; unless the appointment of naval officer at Baltimore, which he received in November, 1817, from President Monroe, can be so termed. His latter years were occupied in the settlement of his claims to a body of valuable lands in Kentucky, to which state he was preparing to remove when he was seized with a bilious fever at Pittsburg in Pennsylvania, where he died, on the 1st of December, 1818, at the age of fifty-nine. I.



Engraved by W. A. Wilmer from a Painting in possession of J. Purviance Esq. of Baltimore

LUTHER MARTIN.

Luther Martin

LUTHER MARTIN.

Luther Martin, a lawyer, distinguished alike for his eccentric habits, his powerful genius, and his vast legal acquirements, was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in the year 1744. His ancestors were natives of England. Two of their descendants, who were brothers, removed from New England, and established their residence in that section of the country adjoining the river Rariton, upon the east of New Brunswick, calling the township in which they had located Piscataqua, from the name of the town whence they emigrated. They were by occupation farmers, and having obtained large grants of land in New Jersey, removed their domestic establishment there when a greater part of the Colonial domain was a dense wilderness.

Luther was the third of nine children, and his time was generally divided, during his early boyhood, between the duties of his father's family and the acquisition of knowledge. In 1757, in the month of August, he was sent to a grammar school, where he learned the rudiments of the Latin language; and in September, five years after, he was graduated at Nassau Hall, Princeton, in a class of thirty-five, with the highest collegiate honors. At that institution he laid the foundation of his subsequent greatness, and with his other classical exercises pursued the study of the French and Hebrew languages.

Among his friends and associates in Princeton were J. Habersham, Esq., the Right Rev. Bishop Clagget of Maryland, the celebrated Pierpoint Edwards, and Oliver Ellsworth. His parents, however were indigent, and they were enabled, consequently, to bestow upon this son a liberal education only; "a patrimony," he remarks, "for which my heart beats toward them a more grateful remembrance than had they bestowed upon me the gold of Peru or the gems of Golconda."* As an equivalent for the additional labor which

* Modern Ingratitude, in five numbers, by Luther Martin, Esq. of Maryland. p. 134.

his two elder brothers had undergone for the support of his father's family while he was receiving the benefits of a liberal education, he conveyed to them, as soon as the laws permitted his disposition of the estate, a small tract of land which had been granted him by his grandfather for his own support.

Upon his graduation from college, having fixed upon the legal profession as his choice, against which, however, his family entertained the strongest prejudices, upon the second day after his commencement, and when he was scarcely nineteen years of age, determining to be no longer a burden to his family, he departed, in company with two or three friends, on horseback, and with but a few dollars in his pocket, for Cecil county, near Octorara Creek in the state of Maryland, in order to be employed as an assistant in a school, which he had learned was just deprived of a teacher, and which was under the management of the Rev. Mr. Hunt, to whom he carried letters of recommendation. Before his arrival the place was occupied. He was received with great hospitality by this gentleman however, who, conjointly with his other friends, advised him to proceed immediately to Queenstown, Queen Ann's county, where a vacancy had just occurred in the common school of that place. Carrying to that county letters of introduction to the board of trustees, among whom was Edward Tighlman, (father of the distinguished Edward Tighlman, Esq. of Philadelphia,) as well as to many of the most distinguished gentlemen in the neighborhood, he was engaged, after the ordinary examination, to take charge of the school.

His object in entering upon this employment was, to acquire a support while pursuing the study of the law. Here he remained in the capacity of a preceptor until April, 1770. During this period he made many valuable acquaintances, among whom was Solomon Wright, Esq., the father of the Hon. Mr. Wright, late senator of the United States, who gave him the advantage of his library, and received him in all respects as a member of his family. For several years he had little relaxation from the most vigorous industry. His means were scanty, as the meagre profits of his school were his sole support. His improvident habits of expenditure brought him eventually into debt; and upon his expressing his determination to relinquish the business of an instructor, and to devote one year exclusively to the study of the law, he was arrested upon five different warrants of attachment. In fact, a want of economy in his pecuniary affairs was prominent through life, and frequently brought upon him the most unpleasant consequences. On this subject he somewhat quaintly

remarks respecting himself—"I am not even *yet*, I was not *then*, nor have I *ever been*, an economist of any thing but time."*

In 1771, through the kind agency of George Wythe, the former chancellor of the state of Virginia, and the Hon. John Randolph, he was admitted to the bar, continued his legal studies until 1772, and then proceeded to Williamsburgh, where the general court was in session, and remained in that place until it terminated. Here he formed many valuable acquaintances, among whom may be mentioned Patrick Henry, the great orator of the Revolution.

He soon after commenced the practice of the law in Accomack and Northampton, in Virginia, and was admitted as an attorney in the courts of Somerset and Worcester, which held their sessions four times a year. He made his residence in Somerset, where he soon acquired a full and lucrative practice, amounting, as he informs us, to about one thousand pounds per annum; which, however, was after a period diminished by the disturbances growing out of the American Revolution. At this time he was occasionally employed in causes of Admiralty jurisdiction, involving interests of great magnitude, and also in some important appeals to the Congress of the United States. A Criminal court had just been established at Williamsburgh, and Mr. MARTIN was employed as counsel for thirty prisoners, twenty-nine of whom were acquitted. His talents were at this time fully appreciated, and he was regarded as one of the most able lawyers at the bar at which he practised.

In 1774, while attending the courts in Virginia, he was appointed one of a committee for the county to oppose the claims of Great Britain, and also a member of the Convention which was called at Annapolis to resist the usurpations of the British crown. He threw the whole strength of his manly vigor, courage, and iron firmness into the cause of American freedom, and opposed these claims with extraordinary boldness at a period, to use his own words, "throughout which not only myself, but many others, did not lie down one night on their beds without the hazard of waking on board a British armed ship or in the other world." When the Howes were on the way to Chesapeak Bay, they published a manifesto, or proclamation, addressed to the people of that part of the United States, against which they were directing their military operations. This proclamation was answered in an address to the Howes by LUTHER MAR-

* Modern Ingratitude, p. 138.

TIN. He also, about the same time, published an address, directed "to the inhabitants of the Peninsula between the Delaware river and the Chesapeak to the southward of the British lines," which was distributed among them in printed hand-bills.

Upon the 11th of February, 1778, he was appointed, through the advice of Judge Chace, Attorney General of the state of Maryland; in which office his remarkable firmness, professional knowledge, and uncompromising energy, were most strikingly exhibited in prosecuting the Tories and the confiscation of their goods. No other man, in fact, could be found at that time of sufficient hardihood and firmness to fill this office. LUTHER MARTIN was called upon at this crisis, and he met it with a manliness of decision and a determined power, which left no room for fear; coming down upon this class of men with an iron hand, and bringing to bear upon them all the powers of the government in order to effect their total defeat and overthrow. In performing the duties of his office in other respects, he exhibited the same vigorous and unquailing determination. On one occasion, for his promptitude in prosecuting a man of great respect, ability, and influence, who was indicted for the murder of an Irishman, he was voted, by the friends of the murdered man, a massive service of silver plate, which, from official considerations, he refused to accept.

He continued in the office of Attorney-General during a long period, constantly augmenting his reputation as an advocate and jurist. The office was conferred on him originally without his solicitation, and his commission found him at Accomack, giving directions to workmen who were engaged in the manufacture of salt.

As a demonstration of his powers of mind, as well as his great legal acquirements, it may be remarked, that he stood among the brightest and strongest at a bar, which numbered among its members a brilliant constellation, composed of such men as Harper, Winder, Chase, Wirt, and Pinkney.

In 1783 he was married to a Miss Cresap of Old Town in the state of Maryland, who was the grand-daughter of Col. Cresap, against whom the charge was brought by Mr. Jefferson of having murdered the Indian family of Logan. This charge originated a long controversy between the latter gentleman and Mr. MARTIN, which were carried on through divers inflammatory pamphlets.

During the whole course of his practice at the bar he was a violent politician, and wrote for the press several pungent essays against what was then denominated the Democratic party.

In 1804 he was engaged, conjointly with Mr. Harper, in the de-

fence of Judge Chase, then one of the justices of the Superior Court of the United States, who was impeached in the house of Representatives, upon eight articles, for malfeasance in office. After a powerful argument in his behalf, Judge Chase was acquitted; a constitutional majority not having been found against him upon a single article.

Aaron Burr, that able though ill-fated man, was at this period the personal and political friend of Mr. MARTIN. He had just broken away from his brilliant career, and public opinion had branded him as a traitor. In 1807, his trial for treason "in preparing the means of a military expedition against Mexico, a territory of the king of Spain, with whom the United States were at peace," occurred in the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Virginia. Messrs. Wickham, Wirt, Randolph, and MARTIN, were engaged upon this cause, which involved interests of vast importance, and principles of constitutional law of great magnitude. Mr. MARTIN appeared in defence of his friend, who, as every body knows, was acquitted. During the whole course of the trial Mr. MARTIN demonstrated himself to be the steadfast friend of Aaron Burr, and entered into a recognisance for his appearance, from day to day, before the bar of court.

In 1814 Mr. MARTIN was appointed chief judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for the city and county of Baltimore, and fulfilled its duties with considerable rigor, though with great success, until a new state law made it necessary for him to relinquish his seat upon the bench. In 1818 he was again qualified as attorney-general of the state and district attorney for the city of Baltimore; but his declining health prevented him from attending in person to his official duties.

From that period to the time of his death, his mind and body were gradually impaired by disease, and a paralytic stroke, with which he was soon after attacked, almost destroyed his physical and intellectual powers. Suffering in his old age under the goadings of penury, he removed to the city of New-York, to take advantage of the hospitality of his old friend and client, Aaron Burr, who faithfully paid him the last rites of kindness, in the imbecillity of his age, in return for the valuable services which MARTIN had rendered him, both in money and talent, when he was in the full vigor and glory of manhood.

LUTHER MARTIN died at New-York, from the mere decay of nature, on the evening of the 10th of July, 1826, aged 82 years.

The information of his death having reached Baltimore, the bench and the bar immediately convened in the court house of that city; and on motion of the Honorable John Purviance, it was "*Resolved*, that we hear with great sensibility of the death of our venerable brother, the former attorney-general of Maryland, and the patriarch of the profession, LUTHER MARTIN; and that, as a testimony of just regard for his memory, and great respect for his exalted talents and profound learning, we will wear mourning for the space of thirty days."

As a lawyer, Mr. MARTIN was learned, clear, solid, and second to no man among his competitors. In fact he shone far above his contemporaries in the accuracy of his knowledge and the clearness of his forensic arguments. He had drawn his legal attainments, like Pinkney, from the great fountains of jurisprudence; and was content to exhibit them only in the light of that reason, which, Sir Edward Coke declares, "is the life of the law." Of his general powers at the bar, his unbroken success and his exalted reputation abroad, are plain demonstrations. His mind was so completely stored with the principles of legal science, and his professional accuracy was so generally acknowledged, that his mere opinion was considered law, and is now deemed sound authority before any American tribunal. His cast of mind was less brilliant than solid. He ordinarily commenced his efforts at the bar with a long, desultory, tedious exordium. He seemed to labor amid the vast mass of *general matters* at the commencement of his speeches, sometimes continuing for an hour in a confused essay, and then suddenly springing off upon his track with a strong, cogent, and well-compacted argument. His address at the bar was not good, nor was his voice agreeable; consequently the value of his forensic efforts is based more upon the *fortiter in re*, than the *suaviter in modo;* more upon matter than manner. The sensitiveness of his feelings frequently led him to acrimonious expressions against his antagonists. He was accustomed, from the fashion of the age, to use a considerable quantity of the stimulus of ardent spirit; and we have been credibly informed that he has delivered some of his most powerful and splendid arguments under its strongest excitement.

He was a man of warm heart and generous feelings, and to prove this, numerous examples of his benevolence might be cited; but in the discharge of his official duties he was rigorous and unyielding.

Before closing this article, we must add that Mr. MARTIN was opposed to the adoption of the present constitution of the United States.

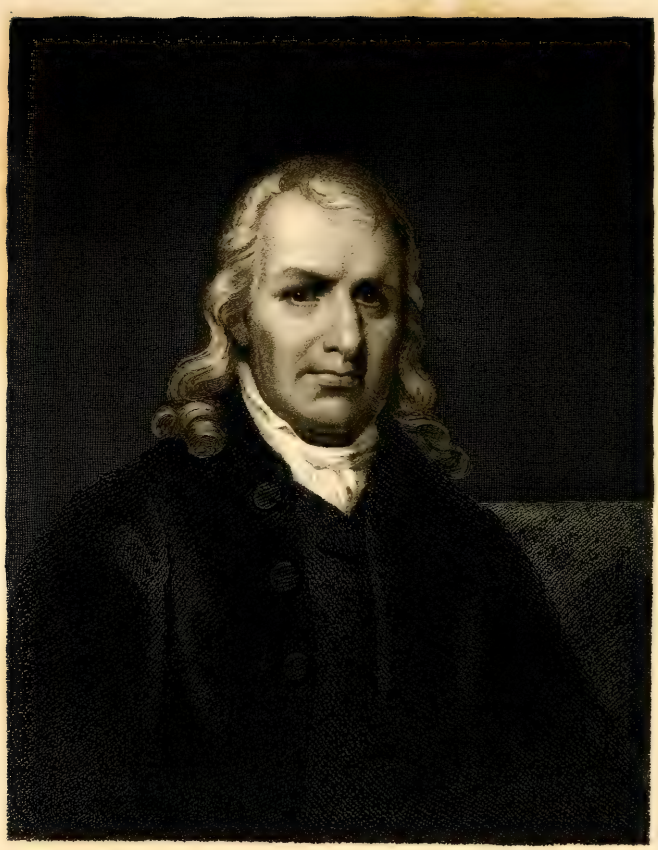
As a member of the Convention by which that instrument was framed, he combatted it in its earliest stages; and when it was committed to the states for their approval, he addressed a long argument to the legislature of Maryland, which was intended to dissuade the people of that state from adopting it. This argument concluded with the following words—"Whether, Sir, in the variety of appointments, and in the scramble for them, I might not have as good a prospect to advantage myself as many others, it is not for me to say; but this, Sir, I can say with truth, that so far was I from being influenced in my conduct by interest, or the consideration of office, that I would cheerfully resign the appointment I now hold; I would bind myself never to accept another, either under the general government or that of my own state: I would do more, Sir, so destructive do I consider the present system to the happiness of my country. I would cheerfully sacrifice that share of property with which heaven has blessed a life of industry. I would reduce myself to indigence and poverty; and those who are dearer to me than my own existence, I would entrust to the care and protection of that providence who hath so kindly protected myself, if on *those terms only* I could procure my country to reject those chains which are forged for it."* Mr. MARTIN'S violent opposition to the proposed frame of government was unsuccessful, but it most probably caused a more deliberate examination and approval than might have been deemed necessary had it not been so powerfully assailed.

Mr. MARTIN'S personal appearance, as well as his mind, were alike extraordinary. He often appeared walking in the street with his legal documents close to his eyes for perusal—wholly abstracted from the world and absorbed in his profession. He was little above the ordinary size of men, but strong and muscular, although not very broad, in form. He usually wore a brown or blue dress, with ruffles around the wrists after the ancient fashion, and his hair tied behind hanging below the collar of his coat.

LUTHER MARTIN was undoubtedly one of the ablest lawyers which our country has produced, and his name will descend to posterity among the brightest of those, who have gained their reputation strictly at the bar, and in connection with causes which can never be detached from our national annals; but there are others of the same profession, with natural and acquired talents certainly not superior to his, whose

* Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Federal Convention, pages 93, 94.

fame will probably occupy a broader space, merely from the fact, that the stage on which they play their part is more conspicuous than that on which he acted his.



Samuel Chase

SAMUEL CHASE.

The Rev. Thomas Chase, the father of the subject of these pages, was the only son of Samuel Chase, of a highly respectable family in Great Britain. At the age of eighteen Thomas was sent to Eaton College, where, by his close application and untiring zeal, he became a proficient in the Latin and Hebrew languages, and soon after he received the honors of the College. The professorship of those languages was tendered to him, which he gladly accepted, as his father had lately suffered some loss in his pecuniary affairs.

In 1738 he fled from the persecution of Cromwell to the Island of Jamaica, where he practised physic, which science he had studied during his leisure hours at Eaton. He remained in Jamaica but a few months, whence he sailed to the American Colonies; and Somerset County, Maryland, was the place he chose for his residence.

In January, 1740, he was married to Matilda Walker, the daughter of a respectable farmer. The fruit of this union was one son; and the day that presented Mr. Chase an heir deprived him of his amiable helpmate.

In 1743 Mr. T. Chase was honored with the appointment of rector of St. Paul's parish in Baltimore, whither he removed with his infant son, who had received the name of Samuel.

Deprived of the tender care of a mother, Samuel was the sole object of his father's love, and under the direction of this kind parent he received his education.

At the age of eighteen he went to Annapolis, where he studied law under the direction of John Hammond and John Hall; and in 1761 he was admitted to the Provincial Courts.

The year following he was united to Miss Anne Baldwin of Annapolis, a lady of distinguished merit, pious, amiable, affable and courteous. This union was blessed with six children, two only of whom are now living—Samuel Chase, his second son, at present

holding an office of judge in the District of Columbia, and Miss Anne Chase.

Mr. CHASE soon became distinguished as a lawyer, and engaged with great zeal in opposing the odious and oppressive measures of Great Britain.

In 1764 he commenced his public life in the General Assembly of Maryland, and was an active member of that body for upwards of twenty years.

He was among the first opposers of the Stamp Act, and engaged, in the most decisive manner, to frustrate its malignant effects. He was one of the framers of the famous "Declaration of Rights of Maryland," and its firm supporter.

His leisure hours were also devoted to his country, in arousing the people to a sense of their wrongs by essays and pamphlets.

In 1774 he was chosen a delegate to the first Congress.

In 1776 he was again chosen to represent Maryland in the general Congress; and it may be said that Maryland, who had refused her consent, was induced by his entreaties to unite in declaring the United States free and independent.

His whole conduct in this Assembly was marked by activity and zeal, and a firm adherence to the principles of liberty breathed forth in the Declaration of Independence.

The name of CHASE is found on many of the most important committees, and he was ever at his post.

In 1782 he was appointed by the Governor of Maryland, Agent and Trustee of the State of Maryland to recover the stock in the Bank of England owned by the State; and for this purpose he proceeded to England, where he remained one year, enjoying the intimacy of Fox, Pitt, Burke, and other great luminaries of the day. It would not be amiss here to state that the late William Pinckney was a student in his office at this time. Young Pinckney styled Mr. CHASE his "Patron and his Friend."

In March, 1783, Mr. CHASE was married to Miss Hannah Kilty Giles of London, by whom he had two daughters; the eldest, Eliza, the widow of Dr. Skipwith Coale, now residing in Baltimore; and Mary, his second daughter, who was married to the eldest son of Commodore Barney, and who has proved herself an American matron, worthy to be the daughter of Judge CHASE and daughter-in-law of a hero.

In 1786 the liberality of the late Col. John Eager Howard induced him to remove to Baltimore.

In 1791 he was appointed Judge of the General Court of Maryland,

and in 1793 he received the appointment of Judge of the Criminal Court for Baltimore County; but it being thought unconstitutional to hold these two offices, he resigned his seat in the General Court.

In 1796 General Washington offered him a seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was in the discharge of his duties in this Court that faction armed his opponents, and he was arraigned at the bar of his country to defend his slandered character. His defence on this occasion has been pronounced the most able production of the bar of this country; Aaron Burr, then Vice-President of the United States, presided at this trial; and the even-handed justice he dealt out was ever a subject of praise by Mr. CHASE.

The late Chief Justice Marshall, in a letter dated May 6th, 1834, to one of Judge CHASE's descendants, writes of Judge CHASE:—

"He possessed a strong mind, great legal knowledge, and was a valuable judge, whose loss was seriously felt by his survivors.

"He was remarkable also for his vivacity and companionable qualities. He said many things which were much admired at the time, but I have not treasured them in my memory so as to be able to communicate them."

Judge Duvall, in a letter of the same date, writes:—

"I knew Judge CHASE intimately, from the year 1775 until the time of his decease. At the commencement of the revolution, Mr. CHASE, as an advocate at the bar, was at least on a level with the ablest lawyers in Maryland, and in my judgment he never had a superior.

"He was constantly engaged in public life, and in legislative assemblies he was more able and powerful than at the bar.

"The late Chancellor Hanson always said that Mr. CHASE was the ablest speaker he ever heard in a legislative assembly; and Mr. Hanson was capable of forming a correct opinion.

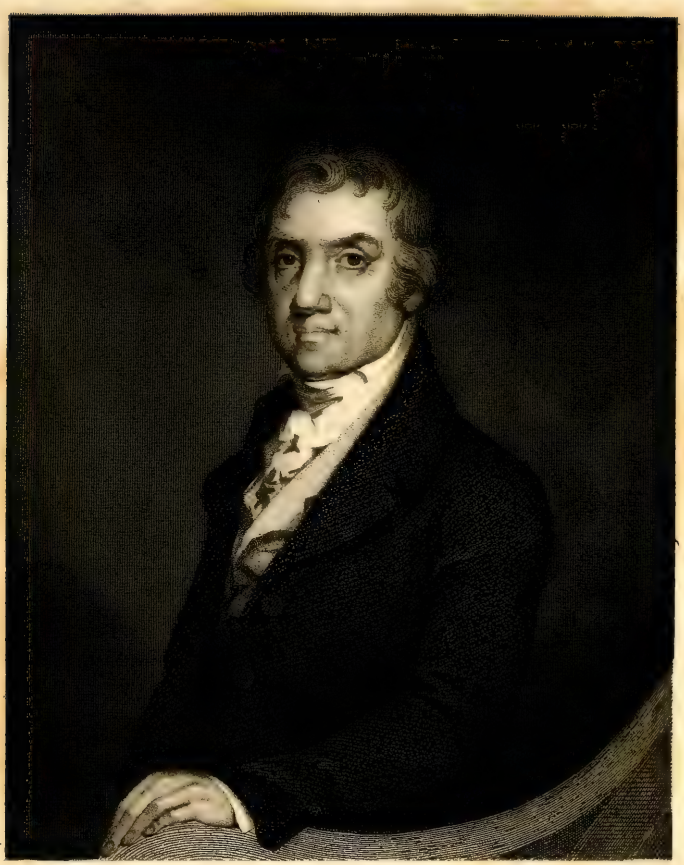
"His knowledge increased with his years. During the Revolutionary contest it may be said with truth, that in Maryland he was the foremost in supporting American rights. Always at his post in the legislature, he took the lead: and his talents enabled him to be formidable and influential. His zeal and patriotism led him into many political controversies, all of which he maintained with ability.

"Mr. CHASE's opinions as a Judge of the Supreme Court are held in high estimation. Whilst on the bench of the General Court of Maryland, his opinions were applauded. He was an able civilian and jurist.

"The truth of these general remarks, as to Mr. CHASE's character

is known to every man who lived in his time and during the revolution."

In his private life he was a kind husband, a fond parent, and a lenient master. For many months he had suffered under a severe disease, ossification of the heart, and had purposed a journey to the North for the benefit of his health; but on the day previous he was taken suddenly ill, he called for writing materials, but it was too late; and he died without making a will, on the 19th of June, 1811, at the mature age of seventy years, a great and good man.



Engraved by J.B.Forrest from a drawing by R.C.Leitch after an original sketch by R.Fulton

ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Abr Baldwin

ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

It was justly remarked, by one* well qualified to form a correct estimate of the character he described, when speaking of the subject of this notice, that "the annals of our country have rarely been adorned with a character more venerable, or a life more useful than that of Abraham Baldwin. War brings its animation, and creates its own heroes; it often rears them up to fame with as little assistance from native genius as from study, or from moral and political virtue. It is in times of peace that an illustrious name is hardest earned, and most difficult to be secured, especially among enlightened republicans, where an equality of right and rank leaves nothing to the caprice of chance; where every action is weighed in its proper balance, and every man compared not only with his neighbor, but with himself; his motives being tested by the uniform tendency of his measures."

Abraham Baldwin was born in Connecticut, in November, 1754, and received his education, very early, at the university at New Haven. He was one of the best classical and mathematical scholars of the age in which he lived. He was employed as one of the professors in this college during the greater part of the American war; at the close of which he began the practice of law, and went to establish himself in the state of Georgia. He arrived at Savannah in the beginning of 1784; he was immediately admitted a counsellor at the Georgia bar, and in three months after he was elected a member of the state legislature. During the first session of that body after his election, he performed a service for the people of that state, for which their posterity will bless his memory. Indeed, if he had done nothing for them since, this action alone would have immortalized him there. He originated the plan of the University of Georgia, drew up the charter, and with infinite labor and

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* Joel Barlow.

patience, in vanquishing all sorts of prejudices and removing every obstruction, he persuaded the assembly to adopt it. This instrument endowed the university with forty thousand acres of excellent land, required it to establish one central seat for the higher branches of education, and a secondary college in every county in the state; all dependant on the principal seminary.

These lands were then uncultivated; the state itself was new. Within a few years, however, the rents of the university lands enabled the trustees to erect the buildings and organize the institution. Its principal seat was established at Athens, on the Oconee river, and its first president was Josiah Meigs, a man equally eminent for mathematical and chemical science, and legal and classical erudition.

John Milledge, governor of the state, and afterward the colleague of Mr. Baldwin in the senate of the United States, was associated with him in the labor of bringing forward this establishment: and the trustees caused to be erected and placed within the walls of the first college, a marble monument to Baldwin as founder of the institution, and to Milledge, his associate. Nor is this the only instance in which we find their names connected by monumental acts of public authority. Milledgeville is the shire town of Baldwin county, and the seat of the state government.

Mr. Baldwin had not been two years in Georgia when he was elected member of congress. This was in 1785, to take his seat in 1786; from that time till the day of his death, he was, without a moment's intermission, a member of congress from that state, either as delegate under the old constitution, until the year 1789; representative under the new, until the year 1799; and senator from that time till his death. And the term for which he was last elected had still four years to run from the 4th of March, 1807, the day of his decease.

There had probably been no other instance of such a long and uninterrupted series of confidence and service among the members of the American congress. And what is more remarkable, on the first day that he was confined to his house in his last illness, only eight days before his death, he told his friends that during his twenty-two years of public service, that day, according to his best recollection, was the first that he had been absent from his public duties.

Mr. Baldwin was a member of the convention that framed the present constitution of the United States. This he always considered as the greatest service that he ever performed for his country; and

his estimate is doubtless just. He was an active member of that most illustrious and meritorious body. Their deliberations were in secret; but we have good authority for saying, that some of the essential clauses of the invaluable, and we hope everlasting, compact, which they presented to their country, owe their origin and insertion to Abraham Baldwin.

His manner of conducting public business was worthy of the highest commendation; he may have wanted ambition to make himself brilliant, but he never wanted industry to render himself useful. His oratory was simple, forcible, convincing. His maxim of never asserting any thing but what he believed to be true, could not fail to be useful in carrying conviction to others. Patient of contradiction, and tolerant to the wildest opinions, he could be as indulgent to the errors of judgment in other men, as if he had stood the most in need of such indulgence for himself.

During the violent agitation of parties, he was always moderate, but firm; relaxing nothing in his republican principles, but retaining all possible charity for his former friends, who might be supposed to have abandoned theirs. He lived without reproach, and probably died without an enemy.

The state of society would be rendered much better than it is, if the private lives of virtuous men could be as well known as their public lives; that they might be kept clearly in view as objects of imitation. We are creatures of habit, and our habits are formed as much by repeating after others as after ourselves. Men, therefore, mistake a plain moral principle when they suppose it meritorious to conceal their good actions from the eye of the world. On the contrary, it is a part of their duty to let such actions be known; that they may extend their benefits by a sort of reproduction, and be multiplied by imitation.

Mr. Baldwin's private life was full of beneficent and charitable deeds, which he was too studious to conceal from public notice. Having never been married, he had no family of his own; and his constant habits of economy and temperance, left him the means of assisting many young men in their education and their establishment in business. Besides which, his father's family presented an ample field for his benevolence. Six orphans, his half-brothers and sisters, were left to his care by the father's death in the year 1787; and the estate that was to support them proved insolvent. He paid the debts of the estate, quit-claimed his proportion to these children, and educated them all in a great measure at his own expense.

Mr. Baldwin was less distinguished by the brilliancy of his talents, or acuteness of reasoning, than by his strength of mind and soundness of judgment; slow and deliberate in making up his conclusions, he examined thoroughly every subject on which he acted, but when he became satisfied as to the correct course, no one followed it in a more undeviating line. He measured every question, whether of principle or policy, by what he deemed to be established rules in the organization and administration of government, as developed in the political history of the mother country, the colonies, and states, and embodied in their several constitutions.

Having served in the revolutionary war as a chaplain in the Connecticut brigade, he acquired a practical knowledge of the radical defects of the old confederation, in the conduct of our military operations: his subsequent experience in civil life, convinced him of the imperious necessity of avoiding the imminent danger of a dissolution of the confederacy, by the establishment of a new system of government on the authority of the people of the states, instead of that of state legislatures. Hence, he was the zealous advocate in congress for a National Convention to frame the constitution of a federal government, and as a member of that convention, active in its deliberations, laborious in effecting that important result, and afterwards in procuring its adoption by the people. Fully satisfied that in the institution of "one new government out of thirteen old ones," with such powers over each, and all, as were indispensable for federal purposes, enabling it not only to make, but execute its own laws on the enumerated subjects which had been confided to its jurisdiction, the greatest possible good had been effected for the country. Mr. Baldwin constantly acted on this conviction. Looking to the constitution as the bond of union, which united the states by a law which the people of each had declared to be supreme throughout the land, he was in the constitutional sense of the term, a federalist; as one of its framers, he approved of the federative principles of the constitution, whereby a government was instituted neither consolidated nor popular, but federal in its origin, organization, administration, and action. After its adoption by the people, he took it as a fundamental law, the written text, declaring the will of the supreme power, which was competent and had ordained it as the standard rule of action by which to measure the powers of the federal government, and its respective departments, as well as those reserved to the several states. Whatever may have been his individual opinion as to any

detailed provisions, while the convention were deliberating upon them, he never suffered them to bias his construction; nor with all his veneration of his illustrious associates, did he regard the sense of that body "as the oracular guide in expounding the constitution." He followed a safer guide, he saw and read what the convention proposed, and the people adopted; regarding as of little importance the discussions which led to the great results, whether in the meetings of the people, in party writings, or the reasoning of the members of the general or state conventions. A constitution was adopted, a constitution was to be construed, as a written declaration of the will of sovereign power. Mr. Baldwin took it as he found it, made it his rule of action; following and obeying it as a disciple, he neither sought to enlarge or narrow its provisions by any theory or doctrine not declared in terms, or by necessary consequence therefrom.

Acting under the influence of these principles throughout a long course of public service, he never lost sight of the "balance of the federal constitution;" he found this balance by viewing all its parts, reconciling each with the others, with a steady determination "to give the greatest effect to them all," according to the plain import and knowledge of the words and terms.

But although Mr. Baldwin was in these respects a federalist, he was in the political sense of the term a democrat; his principles of government and policy, were those which had denoted the line between the two great parties into which the country was divided as they were developed at the organization of the government, whether on questions of power or policy. Considering the constitution as a direct grant by the people of the several states, in their sovereign capacity as each an independent state, he gave it full effect in all things to which its provisions extended, according to their received acceptation. In assigning a meaning to any word or phrase of doubtful import, he took it in connexion with the whole instrument, its bearing on other parts, considering words and phrases as borrowed from former use, and used in the same sense in which they had always been taken. Though he was from his youth devoted to the principles of the revolution, yet his patriotism was not of that morbid and sensitive nature, as to prevent him from resorting to English books and laws to ascertain the definition of terms which were found in the constitution, as the understood sense in which they had been adopted and used by those who framed and ratified that instrument; justly thinking that it could not have

been intended to give to old words or terms a new meaning, without some declaration to that effect. But while he conceded to the federal government the exercise of its enumerated powers to the full extent of the grant, by a liberal rather than a contracted construction of its provisions, he steadily refused his assent to any measures, which, in principle or operation, tended to impair the reserved powers or rights of the states or people, by any train of refined or ingenious reasoning, or reference to doubtful authority. Whenever a question arose, involving any collision between the relative powers of the executive and legislative departments of the government, he uniformly asserted the rights of the latter, adopting this as a political maxim, that "every particle of law-making power in the constitution granted, was vested in congress;" he opposed its exercise by any other department, in any mode which partook of the character, or by any act which could have the effect of legislation. Fully convinced that the "balance of the constitution" consisted in the steadfast adherence to these principles, they were his guide amidst all the conflicts of party, and the exciting questions which continued from the organization of the government to agitate the country. In following them he acquired and retained till his death, the confidence of the party to which he was attached, the respect of that which he opposed, the approbation of the people and state he represented, and died with the consciousness of having faithfully and fearlessly filled the measure of his public duties.

His last illness was so short, and his death so unexpected, that none of his relatives, except his brother-in-law, were able to be present at his funeral. But it seemed as if the public in general were his near relatives. There have been rarely witnessed more general and genuine marks of regret, at the loss of any of the great benefactors of our country, particularly among the members of congress from Georgia. In that state his loss was most deeply felt, though very sensibly perceived in the councils of the union. Though his funeral was two days after congress dissolved, many members stayed expressly to attend it. His remains were deposited by the side of his old friend, General James Jackson, his former colleague, whom he had followed to the grave just one year before.

Lond. & A. v. Vanderlyn. Engd by H. W. Ranney

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Robert R. Livingston was descended from a family of historical celebrity in the annals of Scotland. Kings, regents, and nobles appear in the line of his ancestors, and probably no individual ever emigrated to the new world who could boast more numerous or more distinguished evidences of rank and title. James Livingston, in the middle of the fifteenth century, was appointed regent of Scotland during the minority of James I; his grand-daughter married Donald, king of the Hebrides, one of whose descendants is celebrated by the immortal pen of Sir Walter Scott, in his poem, the Lord of the Isles.

The titles of Earl of Newburgh, Earl of Linlithgow, Earl of Callander, and Earl Livingstone, given to several distinct members of this family, attest its standing and importance in the state, and add lustre to the honors of its name. Nor were they undistinguished in the early literature of their native country; and the name of Rollock, of kindred origin, occurs at the close of the sixteenth century as first principal of the celebrated University of Edinburgh.

Lord Livingstone was the common ancestor of that branch of the Livingstons, which emigrated to this country in the middle of the seventeenth century. He was hereditary governor of Linlithgow castle, in which Mary Queen of Scots was born, and in which she was placed for safety during the invasion of Scotland by the Duke of Somerset. His daughter was one of the four ladies who attended this princess to France as her companion. His great grandson, John Livingston, an eminent, learned, and pious minister of the Gospel, emigrated to Rotterdam in 1663, the victim of religious persecution, and was one of the commissioners of Scotland in the negotiations which eventuated in a general peace, and in the transfer of the colony of New York from the states of Holland to England.

Robert Livingston, his son, about the period of his father's death, in 1678, emigrated to America; and in 1686, obtained a patent for the

manor of Livingston. The banks of the noble Hudson, on which it is situate, attest in its ornaments their taste and opulence. He was a member of the convention at Albany in 1689, which threw off, on the part of New York, the oppressive government of James II. In a visit to England, he held a conference with King William, Lord Chancellor Somers, and others, and prompted the enterprise against the pirates who then infested various parts of the American coast. The agent employed to effect this purpose proved treacherous to the trust, and, as is supposed, with the connivance of Robert Fletcher, the governor of the state. This agent afterwards became chief among the pirates, and is known in the popular traditions of the country by the name of Captain Kidd. The grandsons of Robert were, Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, on the part of the state of New York; William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, known as a poet of high order, and still more estimable for his vigorous defence of the civil and religious rights of the colonies in council and by the pen. Robert Livingston's great-grandsons were, John H. Livingston, the father of the Reformed Dutch Church in America, and president of Queen's college, New Jersey; Brockholst Livingston, late one of the justices of the Supreme court of the United States; Edward Livingston, formerly secretary of the department of state; and Robert R. Livingston, the subject of our present memoir. The talents of this highly gifted family have had an ample field for their display and exertion. The colonial history of the state of New York records their elevated standing in its political affairs, and their noble resistance to those measures of oppression which arrived at their height during the early reign of George III, and which resulted in the independent sovereignty of America.

Chancellor Livingston was born in the city of New York, in 1747, and was educated in King's, now Columbia college, where he was graduated in 1764. He entered upon the study of the law in 1765, under the direction of William Smith, the historian of New York, at that time an eminent counsellor of law, and subsequently chief justice of Canada. Shortly after having obtained his license in that profession, he was appointed recorder of his native city. The trying question of the rights of the British parliament, in which we were unrepresented, to impose exactions on our citizens, then first began to be agitated; and the subject of our memoir, as well as his illustrious father, were both ejected from their official stations, the latter as one of the justices of the court of Oyer and Terminer, for adherence to the rights of their countrymen.

In return for royal persecution, Chancellor LIVINGSTON was rewarded by popular favor and the confidence of his country. In the immortal congress of 1776, Mr. LIVINGSTON represented the feelings and interests of the people of the state of New York. In this consecrated assembly, his zeal and patriotism were universally acknowledged.

When, at the recommendation of congress, each state proceeded to frame a constitution of government, Mr. LIVINGSTON was elected a member of the convention of New York, and was the chairman of the committee who presented the draught of that instrument, which was subsequently adopted.

On the formation of the department of foreign affairs, in 1781, under the articles of confederation, he accepted the appointment of secretary, and served in that capacity with great diligence, promptness, and impartiality, until 1783, when, on retiring from office, he received the thanks of congress, and an assurance of the high sense they entertained of the ability, zeal, and fidelity with which he had discharged the important trusts reposed in him. The diplomatic correspondence of the revolutionary war, which has been published by Mr. Sparks, may be here referred to as documentary testimony to his cabinet services in our great contest.

Mr. LIVINGSTON was appointed chancellor of the state of New York in 1783, being the first who held that office under the state constitution; and he continued in this highest legal station in the state until his mission to France, in 1801. No published documents record the evidences of his laborious research and accurate discrimination. But we assert, on the testimony of a most distinguished successor to his office (Chancellor Jones), that the august tribunal, whose justice he dispensed, though since covered with a halo of glory, never boasted a more prompt, more able, or more faithful officer.

When at length the valor of our ancestors had borne them successfully through the revolutionary contest, and redeemed those pledges which had been offered on the altar of their country, another and a still more arduous task remained. In vain had our patriots moistened the soil with their blood, had our countrymen been left the victims to their own tormenting feuds and passions. The bond of union which united us during the period that tried men's souls, was almost rent asunder during the trials of peace. The legislature of Virginia, so early as in 1785, at the instance of Mr. Madison, who then first gave presages of his future greatness, had appointed commissioners, with a view to form commercial regulations for the general control of the states. Commissioners from several states met accordingly at Annapolis, the fol-

lowing year. From the want of adequate powers, they separated without effecting the object for which they were delegated. In 1787, on the recommendation of the Massachusetts delegation, composed of Francis Dana and Rufus King, was convened, at Philadelphia, that memorable assemblage of heroes and statesmen, who met to devise a plan of government which should convey the blessings of liberty to the latest generations. Of the plan of that national compact which now binds these states, Hamilton and Madison were the principal authors.

Of the convention which assembled at Poughkeepsie in 1788, Chancellor LIVINGSTON was one of the most efficient members, and prevailed in effecting its ratification by his native state; thus securing its adoption by the United States. We are now in the full enjoyment of its blessings. May no vaulting ambition on the part of our statesmen, or madness on the part of our people, ever put it in jeopardy for a moment. May it never be rendered oppressive by too liberal a construction of its powers: may it never be nullified by metaphysical refinement.

In April, 1789, the city of New York was the scene of one of the most solemn ceremonies recorded in the annals of America. The great Washington having conducted, to a successful issue, the momentous contest for independence, and the sages of our nation having elaborated a constitutional code of government, all eyes were directed to the illustrious hero, whose wise and sagacious counsels, no less than his valor, pointed him out as the most competent, under Providence, to guide the vessel of state in safety. When that venerated patriot was about to enter upon the duties of the highest office known to freemen, Chancellor LIVINGSTON became the witness of his solemn appeal to heaven, that the laws should be faithfully administered.

The appointment of Chancellor LIVINGSTON to the court of France, was one of the first acts of the new administration of Jefferson. Napoleon Bonaparte, the youthful conqueror of Italy, was at this time first consul of the French republic. At his court, which excelled in magnificence and splendor the most august courts of Europe, the chancellor at once conciliated the good feelings of that extraordinary man by the amenity of his manners, and promoted the best interests of his country by persevering and enlightened exertions. During the short-lived peace of Amiens, Paris was visited by the refined and intelligent from every part of the civilized world; and here the chancellor found leisure, amidst the duties of official station, to cultivate those ornate studies, for which that capital furnishes every facility. On the

day of a great levée, which assembled at the Tuilleries, says the biographer of Fox, the numerous representatives of nations and strangers from every country, to pay their respects to the first consul of France, now established as the sole head of the government, the American ambassador, Mr. LIVINGSTON, plain and simple in manners and dress, represented his republic with propriety and dignity.

In that important negotiation with the government of France, which resulted in the acquisition of Louisiana, Chancellor LIVINGSTON was the prominent and efficient agen. Its transfer by the Spanish government to France, in 1802, had excited the most lively feelings of the American republic. By this unexpected measure, they were made the neighbors to a power, which, under the giant energies of the first consul, threatened, in case of rupture, the very existence of our republic. Immediately preceding the entrance into it of the French authorities, the Spanish powers prohibited the inhabitants of the western country the use of New Orleans as a place of deposite for their productions, contrary to the treaty with his Catholic Majesty. A universal spirit of indignation animated the American people; and there were not wanting those who recommended an immediate recourse to arms. The discussions on this question in the congress of the United States elicited debates, in which De Witt Clinton and Gouverneur Morris, representatives of the state of New York in the American senate, sustained the different views of the rival parties of this country. In pursuance of the sound counsels of those who urged the propriety of negotiation and peace, the executive of the United States deputed, as minister to the court of France, the late President Monroe; but previous to his arrival, Mr. LIVINGSTON, in an elaborate and interesting memoir, addressed to the French government, had prepared them for the cession of the greater part of Louisiana.

The result of Chancellor LIVINGSTON's efforts was prompt and successful. On the 5th April, the first consul announced to his bureau of state his determination to sell whatever of American territory he had obtained from Spain. Seven days afterwards, Mr. Monroe arrived in Paris, and gave the consent of the American government to this negotiation. The menacing posture of affairs between France and England facilitated the objects of these arrangements, and resulted in the transfer of the entire country to the American republic, for a sum less than was adequate for the preparation of a single campaign.

By this important treaty, contrary to the anticipations of the timid or interested, the confederacy of our states was placed on an invulnerable basis; territory was added to our country, nearly equal in extent

to that of the original states of our union; and the blessings of free government secured to millions, who had otherwise groaned under the vassalage of foreign dominion. The vast deserts of Louisiana are daily becoming the cheerful residence of an intelligent and christian population, with American blood flowing in their veins, and beating responsive to republican feelings; and the field of New Orleans is now added to those of Bunker Hill, Stillwater, and Chippeway, as trophies of American valor and patriotism.

After the signing of this eventful treaty, the three ministers arose, says one of them (the Count Marbois), when Mr. Livingston, expressing the general satisfaction, said, with prophetic sagacity, "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art, or dictated by force; equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day, the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America. Thus one of the principal causes of European rivalries and animosities is about to cease. The United States will reëstablish the maritime rights of all the world, which are now usurped by a single nation. These treaties will thus be a guarantee of peace and concord among commercial states. The instruments which we have just signed, will cause no tears to be shed; they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and Missouri will see them succeed one another, and multiply, truly worthy of the regard of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and the scourges of bad government."

The consequences of this act did not escape the penetration of the first consul. "This accession of territory," said he, "strengthens for ever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride."

The official duties of resident minister at Paris did not prevent Chancellor Livingston from bestowing his attention to those objects of taste congenial to his feelings, and beneficial to his country. To the American Academy of Fine Arts, established in New York, in 1801, he added the excellent collection of busts and statues which are now the boast of that institution, and was instrumental in procuring, from the liberality of the first consul, its rich paintings and prints. He continued through life devoted to its interests, and was for many years its chief officer. To the Transactions of the Society for the

Promotion of Useful Arts, established in 1793, chiefly through his exertions, he contributed many appropriate papers, and, during his residence abroad, enriched our agriculture with the improvements of French husbandry.

The last effort of his pen was his paper on Agriculture, written but a few days before his fatal illness. In this spirited essay, he vindicates the climate, soil, and capabilities of his native country. He shows the value of horticultural labor, and demonstrates the reciprocal connections between agriculture and manufactures. The inherent fertility and the indigenous resource of the country, are the themes of his admiration and eulogy. He was among the earliest, with Judge Peters, to employ gypsum as the means of fertilizing soils; and the introduction of clover, and a better breed of domestic cattle, attest his vigilant and enlightened zeal.

One other benefit conferred on mankind, will, of itself, convey the name of Chancellor LIVINGSTON to the remotest posterity; his coöperation with Robert Fulton, in effecting the successful application of steam navigation, the most important improvement since the invention of printing.

"The connection between Livingston and Fulton," says the late lamented Clinton, "realized, to a great degree, the vision of the poet. All former experiments had failed, and the genius of Fulton, aided and fostered by the public spirit and discernment of LIVINGSTON, created one of the greatest accommodations for the benefit of mankind. These illustrious men will be considered, through all time, as the benefactors of the world."*

The leisure hours of Chancellor LIVINGSTON were devoted to every variety of science, arts, and literature. The heroic authors of antiquity, Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, were among those which contributed to improve his taste and expand his thought and feeling. His historical researches were various and extensive. All this was not effected without unremitting industry. Every interval of time afforded from the duties and cares of public life, was devoted, with scrupulous fidelity, to add to his stores of knowledge. Like the Chancellor D'Aguesseau, in variety of pursuit he found that relaxation which others seek in pleasure and amusement.

The style of his oratory was chaste and classical, and of that persuasive kind which the father of poetry ascribes to Nestor. All who were witnesses, testify to the mute attention with which he riveted his

* Clinton's Discourse before the American Academy of Fine Arts.

auditors. But he chiefly delighted in the pathetic, and often, by his appeals to the sympathies of his hearers, counteracted the most powerful prejudices. His acknowledged integrity and patriotism doubtless added force to all he uttered. Franklin termed him the American Cicero: in him were united all those qualities which, according to that illustrious Roman, are necessary in the perfect orator.

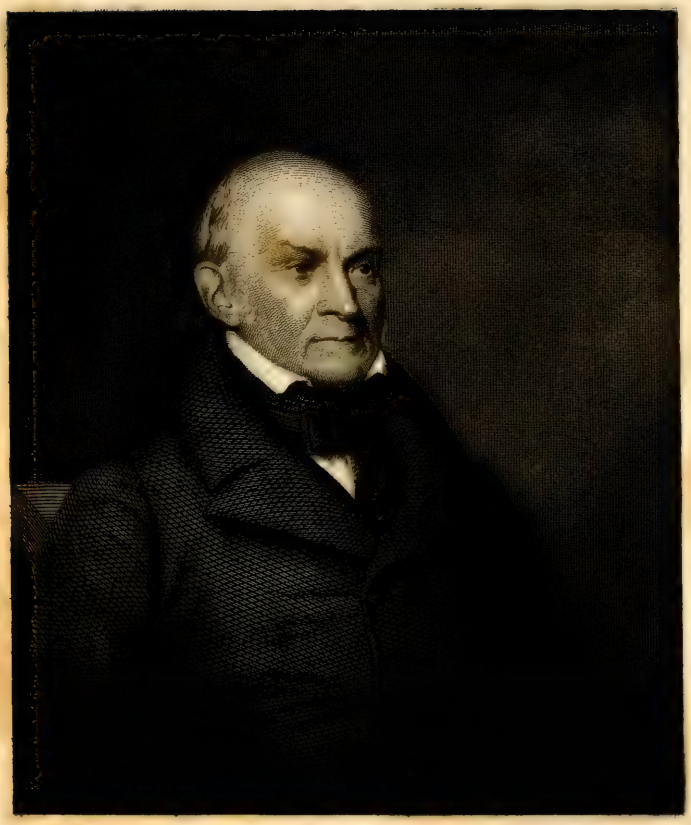
After a life, every portion of which was devoted to the benefit of his fellow-man, he paid the last debt to nature, at his seat, at Clermont, on the 26th of February, 1813.

Thus it appears, from this imperfect tribute, that the late Chancellor Livingston was an active agent in the most momentous events that have influenced the destinies of mankind. Of the congress of 1776, which resolved that these states were free and independent, he was a distinguished member, and belonged to that committee which framed the declaration of our grievances and rights, — and which will transmit their names to the latest posterity; of the convention of New York which formed the constitution of that state — the best devised scheme of polity then known to the world; of a subsequent convention, which ratified the constitution of the United States, devised by the wisdom of Hamilton and Madison; the important actor in a negotiation, which doubled our country in extent, and rendered it for ever secure from foreign intrusion; the coadjutor in that noblest of all improvements in mechanics, by which time and space are annihilated — the invention of steam navigation.

In Mr. Livingston, to the proud character of integrity, honor, and disinterestedness, were added the mild, yet ennobling features of religion. An inquiring believer in its truth, an exemplar of its gentle effects on the character, he daily sought its consolations, and strengthened his pious resolutions in the rich inheritance it promises. He was devoted to the Protestant Episcopal Church, from an enlightened preference of its doctrines and discipline, without hostile feelings to those who trust to other guides in religion than Chillingworth and Hooker.

Chancellor Livingston, at the time of his death, was in the 66th year of his age. His person was tall and commanding, and of patrician dignity. Gentle and courteous in his manners, pure and upright in his morals. His benefactions to the poor were numerous and unostentatious. In his life, without reproach; victorious in death over its terrors.

J. W. F.



Engraved by J.W. Paradise from a Painting by A.H. Ritchie.

J. Q. Adams

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

In giving a sketch of the career of John Quincy Adams, the limits of this work require us to confine the narrative to a bare recital of the successive leading events of his life. It is difficult to contemplate his history, without yielding to the impulses of the feelings and the imagination, and expatiating on the interesting reflections and meditations which, at every stage of his course, crowd into the mind, and demand expression. So protracted, however, has been his public life, so full is it of important services, and so various are the stations in which his great talents have been displayed, that the concisest narration of them will be kept, with difficulty, from overrunning our pages. His illustrious parents have been duly commemorated in this work; and it will therefore be unnecessary to dwell upon their merits, or even to mention their names. He was born in Braintree, in Massachusetts, in that part of the town since incorporated by the name of Quincy, on Saturday, July 11, 1767, and was baptised the next day, in the congregational church of the first Parish of Braintree. He was named John Quincy, in consequence of the interesting circumstance that his maternal great-grandfather of that name, who was the owner of Mount Wollaston, and a leading civil and military character of his times, in honor of whom the town of Quincy received its name, was actually dying at the time of his birth.

In the eleventh year of his age he accompanied his father to France, who was sent by Congress, as joint commissioner, with Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee, to the court of Versailles. They sailed from Boston in February, 1778, and arrived at Bourdeaux early in April. While in France, he was, of course, put to school, and instructed in the language of the country as well as in the Latin. After about eighteen months, they returned to America in the French frigate La Sensible, in company with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who came out as the minister of France to the United States. They arrived in Boston on the first of August, 1779. In November of the same year his father was again

despatched to Europe, for the discharge of the diplomatic services, which he rendered to the cause of America with such signal and memorable ability and success. He took his son out with him. It seemed to be the determination of that great patriot, not only to do and to dare every thing himself for his struggling country, but to keep his son continually at his side; so that, by sharing his perils and witnessing his toils, he might become imbued with his own exalted enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, and be prepared to promote and vindicate it with all the energies of his genius and all the sensibility of his soul. It is easy to imagine the exciting influences which must have operated upon the character of a youth at that susceptible and impressible age, accompanying such a father through the scenes in which he acted while in Europe, and the dangers he encountered in his voyages across the Atlantic. In one of these voyages, the ship in which they were embarked was under the command of the famous naval hero Commodore Tucker, and the whole passage was a succession of hazardous exposures and hair-breadth escapes from hostile squadrons and tempestuous gales.

While the younger Adams was receiving the impressions made upon him by a participation in the patriotic adventures and exertions of his father, and imbibing the wisdom and intrepid energy of spirit for which he was so distinguished, the same effect was still more heightened and deepened by the influence exerted upon him by the inculcations and exhortations to every public and private virtue contained in the letters of his mother. When he was thirteen years of age, while in France with his father, she addressed him in the following noble strains:—"It is your lot, my son, to owe your existence among a people who have made a glorious defence of their invaded liberties, and who, aided by a generous and powerful ally, with the blessing of heaven, will transmit this inheritance to ages yet unborn; nor ought it to be one of the least of your excitements towards exerting every power and faculty of your mind, that you have a parent who has taken so large a share in this contest, and discharged the trust reposed in him with so much satisfaction as to be honored with the important embassy that at present calls him abroad. The strict and inviolate regard you have ever paid to truth, gives me pleasing hopes that you will not swerve from her dictates; but add justice, fortitude, and every manly virtue which can adorn a good citizen, do honor to your country, and render your parents supremely happy, particularly your ever affectionate mother."

The opportunities and privileges of an education, under such au-

spices, were not thrown away upon him, as the incidents of his subsequent career most amply prove.

In going to Europe this second time, he embarked with his father at Boston, in the same French frigate, La Sensible, bound to Brest; but as the ship sprung a leak in a gale of wind, it was necessary to make the first port they could, which was Ferrol in Spain. They travelled from that place to Paris by land, and arrived there in January, 1780. The son, of course, was immediately put to school. In July of that year, Mr. Adams removed to Holland. There his son was first placed in the public city school at Amsterdam, and afterwards at the University at Leyden. In July, 1781, Mr. Francis Dane, who had accompanied John Adams as Secretary of the embassy with which he was charged, received the commission of minister plenipotentiary to the Empress of Russia, and took JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, then fourteen years of age, with him as his private Secretary. Here the younger Adams remained until October 1782, when he left Mr. Dane at St. Petersburg, and returned through Sweden, Denmark, Hamburg, and Bremen, to Holland. Upon this journey he employed the whole winter, spending considerable time by the way, in Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Hamburg. He reached the Hague in April, 1783, and continued several months in Holland, until his father took him to Paris, where he was at the signing of the treaty of peace, which took place in September of that year, and from that time to May, 1785, he was, for the most part, with his father in England, Holland, and France.

At his own solicitations, his father permitted him, when eighteen years of age, to return to his native country. Soon after reaching America, he entered Harvard University, at an advanced standing, and was graduated with distingiushed honor, as Bachelor of Arts, in 1787. He then entered the office of the celebrated Theophilus Parsons, at New bury Port, afterwards chief justice of Massachusetts; and after the usual period of three years spent in the study of the law, he entered the profession, and established himself in Boston.

He remained in that situation four years, occupying himself industriously in his office, extending his acquaintance with the great principles of law, and also taking part in the public questions which then occupied the attention of his countrymen. In the summer of 1791 he published a series of papers in the Boston Centinel, under the signature of Publicola, containing remarks upon the first part of Paine's Rights of Man. They suggested doubts in reference to the favorable issue of the French Revolution, at a time when most other men saw nothing but good in that awakening event. The issue proved the sa-

gacity of Publicola. These pieces were at first ascribed to his father. They were reprinted in England.

In April, 1793, on the first information of war between Great Britain and France, and before Washington had published his proclamation of neutrality, or it was known that such a step was contemplated by him, Mr. ADAMS published in the Boston Centinel three articles signed Marcellus, the object of which was to prove that the duty and interest of the United States required them to remain neutral in that war. In these papers he developed the two principles, which have ever been the basis of his creed as a statesman; the one is UNION at home, the other INDEPENDENCE of all entangling alliances with any foreign states whatever.

In the winter of 1793–4 he published another series of political essays, confirming, and more fully developing these views, and vindicating the course of President Washington in reference to the proceedings of the French minister, Genet.

In May, 1794, he was appointed by Washington, without any intimation of such a design, made either to him or to his father, minister resident to the United Netherlands. It was supposed at the time that he was selected in consequence of his having been commended to the favorable notice of Washington, as a suitable person for such an employment, by Mr. Jefferson.

From 1794 to 1801 he was in Europe, employed in diplomatic business, and as a public minister, in Holland, England, and Prussia. Just as President Washington was retiring from office, he appointed him minister plenipotentiary to the court of Portugal. While on his way to Lisbon, he received a new commission, changing his destination to Berlin. He resided in Berlin from November 1797 to April 1801, and while there concluded a highly important treaty of commerce with Prussia, thus accomplishing the object of his mission. He was then recalled, just before the close of his father's administration, and arrived in Philadelphia in September, 1801.

In 1802 he was elected, from the Boston district, a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and was soon after appointed, by the legislature of that state, a senator in the Congress of the United States for six years, from the 4th of March, 1803. As his views of public duty led him to adopt a course which he had reason to believe was disagreeable to the legislature of the State he represented, he resigned his seat in March, 1808. In March, 1809, President Madison nominated him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Russia.

Some time previous to this, however, in 1806, he had been appointed Professor of Rhetoric in Harvard University, at Cambridge in Massachusetts. So extraordinary were his powers of elocution, so fervid his imaginative faculties, and so rich his resources of literature and language, that his lectures, which were afterwards published in two octavo volumes, were thronged not only by the students of the university, but by large numbers of the admirers of eloquence and genius, who came from Boston and the neighboring towns to listen to them. During his whole life Mr. ADAMS has cultivated the graces of elocution, and, in addition to his profound and varied knowledge of the sciences, of the ancient and modern languages, and of the literature and history of all nations, is an eminent Orator as well as Poet.

While in Russia, he furnished to the Port Folio, printed in Philadelphia, and to which, from the beginning to the end, he was an industrious anonymous contributor, a series of letters, entitled a "Journal of a Tour through Silesia." These letters were republished in London, without the permission of the proprietor of the Port Folio, in one volume octavo. They were reviewed in the journals of the day, and translated into French and German.

Mr. ADAMS signalized himself while in Russia by an energetic, faithful, and wise discharge of the trust committed to him. He succeeded in making such an impression upon that government, by his reasonings and influence, that it has ever since been actuated by a feeling of kindness towards the United States, which has been of incalculable benefit to this country. It was through his instrumentality that the Russian Court was induced to take active measures to promote a pacification between England and the United States during the last war. When the proper time came, he was named at the head of the five commissioners who were appointed by President Madison to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain. This celebrated diplomatic transaction took place at Ghent, in December, 1814. Mr. Adams then proceeded, in conjunction with Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin, who had also been associated with him in concluding the treaty of peace, to negotiate a convention of commerce with Great Britain; and he was forthwith appointed by President Madison minister plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James.

It is a most remarkable coincidence that, as his father took the leading part in negotiating the treaty that terminated the Revolutionary war with Great Britain, and first discharged the office of American ambassador to London, so he was at the head of the commission that negotiated the treaty that brought the second war with Great Britain

to a close, and sustained the first mission to that country upon the return of peace. After having occupied that post until the close of President Madison's administration, he was at length called home, in 1817, to the head of the department of State, at the formation of the cabinet of President Monroe.

Mr. ADAMS's career as a foreign minister terminated at this point. It has never been paralleled, or at all approached, either in the length of time it covered, the number of courts at which he represented his country, or the variety and importance of the services he rendered. His first appointment to the office of a minister plenipotentiary was received at the hands of George Washington, who, in nominating him, acted in accordance with the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson. James Madison employed him in the weightiest and most responsible trusts during his whole administration, selected him to represent the United States at the two most powerful courts in the world, St. Petersburg and London, and committed to his leading agency the momentous duty of arranging a treaty of peace with Great Britain. It is enough to say, that throughout this long and brilliant career of foreign public service, he deserved, and received from his country, the encomium which Washington pronounced upon him, when, in 1797, he declared him "the most valuable public character we have abroad, and the ablest of all our diplomatic corps."

The public approbation of Mr. Monroe's act in placing him at the head of his cabinet, was well expressed by General Jackson, at the time, when he said that he was "the fittest person for the office; a man who would stand by the country in the hour of danger." While Secretary of State, an office which he held during the eight years of President Monroe's administration, he discharged his duties in such a manner as to increase the confidence of his countrymen in his ability and patriotism. Under his influence, the claims on Spain were adjusted, Florida ceded to the Union, and the republics of South America recognised. It will be the more appropriate duty of his future biographer to present a full view of the vast amount of labor which he expended, in the public service, while managing the department of state.

In the Presidential election, which took place in the fall of 1824, Mr. ADAMS was one of the candidates. No candidate received a majority of electoral votes. When, on the 9th of February, 1825, the two houses of Congress met in convention, in the hall of the House of Representatives, to open, and count, and declare the electoral votes, it was found that *Andrew Jackson* had 99 votes, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 84 votes, *William H. Crawford*, 41 votes, and *Henry Clay*

37 votes. According to the requirements of the constitution, the Senate then withdrew, and the House remained to ballot for a President until a choice should be effected. They were to vote by States; the election was limited to the three candidates who had the highest electoral votes, and the balloting was to continue without adjournment until some one of the three had received the votes of a majority of the States. As Mr. ADAMS had received as many popular votes as General Jackson, the circumstance that the latter had obtained a large electoral vote had not so much weight as it otherwise might have had; and when the balloting was about to begin, it was wholly uncertain which would be the successful candidate. The whole number of States was twenty-four. The votes of thirteen States were necessary for a choice. At the first ballot, it was found that *Maine*, *New Hampshire*, *Massachusetts*, *Rhode Island*, *Connecticut*, *Vermont*, *New-York*, *Maryland*, *Ohio*, *Kentucky*, *Illinois*, *Missouri*, and *Louisiana*, thirteen states, had voted for "JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, OF MASSACHUSETTS;" and he was accordingly elected PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES for four years from the 4th of March, 1825. A committee was appointed forthwith to inform him of his election, who, the next day, reported the following letter in reply to the communication:

"GENTLEMEN,

"In receiving this testimonial from the Representatives of the people and states of this Union, I am deeply sensible to the circumstances under which it has been given. All my predecessors in the high station, to which the favor of the House now calls me, have been honored with majorities of the electoral voices in their primary colleges. It has been my fortune to be placed, by the divisions of sentiment prevailing among our countrymen on this occasion, in competition, friendly and honorable, with three of my fellow-citizens, all justly enjoying, in eminent degrees, the public favor: and of whose worth, talents, and services, no one entertains a higher and more respectful sense than myself. The names of two of them were, in the fulfilment of the provisions of the constitution, presented to the selection of the House in concurrence with my own; names closely associated with the glory of the nation, and one of them further recommended by a larger minority of the primary electoral suffrages than mine. In this state of things, could my refusal to accept the trust, thus delegated to me, give an immediate opportunity to the people to form and to express, with a nearer approach to unanimity, the object of their preference, I should not hesitate to decline the acceptance of this eminent charge, and to

submit the decision of this momentous question again to their determination. But the constitution itself has not so disposed of the contingency which would arise in the event of my refusal; I shall therefore repair to the post assigned me by the call of my country, signified through her constitutional organs; oppressed with the magnitude of the task before me, but cheered with the hope of that generous support from my fellow-citizens, which, in the vicissitudes of a life devoted to their service, has never failed to sustain me—confident in the trust, that the wisdom of the Legislative Councils will guide and direct me in the path of my official duty, and relying, above all, upon the superintending Providence of that Being 'in whose hand our breath is, and whose are all our ways.'

"Gentlemen: I pray you to make acceptable to the House, the assurance of my profound gratitude for their confidence, and to accept yourselves my thanks for the friendly terms in which you have communicated their decision.

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

"*Washington*, 10*th Feb.* 1825."

The time is approaching when justice will be done to the administration of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. The passions of that day are already fast subsiding, and the parties and combinations that arose under the exciting influences of the times, have long since been dissolved and scattered. The clear verdict of posterity may almost be heard, even now, in the general acknowledgment of its merits by the people of the country, in all its various sections. In the relations he sustained to the members of his cabinet, in his communications to the two houses, and in all his proceedings, there is a uniform manifestation of wisdom, industry, moderation, and devoted patriotism. Of course we do not speak of party questions, or refer to the operations or bearings of the parties of that period; but say only what we conscientiously believe will be assented to heartily by candid and honorable men of all parties. The great effort of his administration was to mature, into a permanent system, the application of all the superfluous revenue of the Union to internal improvement. This policy was first suggested in a resolution introduced by him, and adopted by the Senate of the United States in 1806; and was fully unfolded in his first message to Congress in 1825. It will be the duty of the philosophical historian of the country, a half century hence, to contrast the probable effects upon the general prosperity, which would have been produced by such a system of administration, regularly and comprehensively

carried out, during the intermediate time, by the government of the Union, with what will then be seen to be the results of the policy which has prevailed over it.

In retiring from the Presidency in 1829, Mr. Adams returned to his family mansion in Quincy, where he remained, in quiet retirement, until he was called into public life, once more, by the people of the congressional district to which he belonged. He took his seat in the House of Representatives of the United States in 1831, where he continues to this day in the most indefatigable discharge of the duties of his station. Mr. Adams is now in his seventy first year. However much some of his opinions may be disliked by large numbers of his countrymen; however strenuous the collision into which he is, from time to time, brought with those whose policy or views he may oppose; there is but one sentiment of admiration, throughout the entire Union, of the vigor, the activity, the intrepidity, the patience and perseverance of labor, the talent, the learning, and the eloquence which he continually exhibits. He knows neither fear nor fatigue; prompt, full, and fervid in debate, he is ever at his post; no subject arises upon which he does not throw light, and few discussions occur which are not enlivened by the flashings of his genius and invigorated by the energy of his spirit. While he belongs to no party, all parties in turn feel the power of his talents; and all, it is probable, recognize him as an extremely useful as well as interesting member of the great legislative assembly of the nation.

He has now reached the period of life when most men begin, if not to lose their power to engage in the arduous struggles of life, at least to lose their interest in them. But it is not so with him. Neither his natural force nor his natural fervor has abated. His speeches and writings are still as full of fancy and of feeling as they were in his early manhood. As a scholar, his attainments are various, we might almost say universal, and profound. As a political controversial writer, he never yet has found his equal; and his services as a public orator are still called for on great occasions, when he comes forward in all the strength of his intellectual energy, and with the imperishable richness and inexhaustible abundance of his rhetorical stores. When Congress were apprized of the death of General Lafayette, the unanimous voice of both Houses summoned him to the high and memorable duty of pronouncing their grateful eulogium upon that friend of America and champion of mankind. And at the call of the municipal authorities of the city of Boston, he has pronounced funeral orations in commemoration of the departed worth of Presidents Monroe and Madison.

All his other attainments and merits are crowned by a Christian faith and profession.

In addition to his services in her legislative halls, his country still expects other invaluable benefactions from the genius and learning of this remarkable man; and is strong in the hope that, in obedience to that profound and reverential regard which he has ever shown to the calls of patriotic, philanthropic, and filial duty, he will not close his long line of illustrious services, without making a noble contribution to the History of United America, and of the great men who achieved her independence.

C. W. U.

Painted by C. R. Leslie — Engraved by G. F. Storm

Louisa Catherine Adams

LOUISA CATHERINE ADAMS.

In our Republic, where the principle of distribution is perpetually at work against the long continuance of property in the hands of any race of individuals, the duties of the female sex may be generally expected to prove too burdensome to admit of great devotion to pursuits exclusively literary or political, or even to that species of social influence which, in other countries, has not unfrequently made women the arbiters of weal or woe to a nation. The position in life of the greater number, is determined by the accident of marriage, and depends upon the success of exertions more often made by their partners after than before that event. Mere wealth is rather an obstacle than an aid to the acquirement of the distinction most coveted in America, while political success often attends him in advanced age, who has, in early days, struggled hard with poverty, and devolved upon a wife, selected perhaps with sole reference to the most ordinary duties of life, all the drudgery of domestic cares. The duties of a housekeeper, a wife, a mother, while they make every woman who faithfully executes em respectable in the eyes of the world, do not, when exclusively pursued, so well fit her to shine upon that brilliant theatre of politics and fashion to which she may yet be called. This may in part account for the somewhat remarkable absence of female biography in the annals of our nation, and for the little power which appears hitherto to have been exerted by individuals of that sex in the circles of American society. At the same time it ought never to be forgotten that the greatest praise is due to those, who have been by circumstances distinguished above the rest, for having, as well by example as by precept, so rigidly preserved the standard of our morality pure; in this manner earning for themselves a far more substantial claim to the public gratitude, than all the fame which ever grew out of the brilliant salons of the corrupt society in the French metropolis.

Mrs. Louisa Catherine Adams in early life enjoyed advantages not usual at that period to American ladies. The daughter of Joshua

Johnson, a citizen of the colony of Maryland, engaged in commercial pursuits in London, she was born in that city on the 12th of February, 1775. Mr. Johnson, although established in the mother country when the Revolution commmenced, was not one of those who took sides with her, and settled into the character of refugees and exiles from their native land. While his brother, Thomas Johnson, took a leading part at home, both in the Colony and as a delegate to the first Congress, and the remaining members of a numerous family were actively engaged in the war which ensued; he, himself, retired from Great Britain to Nantes in France. There he received, from the federal congress, an appointment as commissioner to examine the accounts of all the American functionaries then entrusted with the public money of the United States in Europe; in the exercise of the duties of which he continued until the peace of 1782. Our National Independence having then been recognised, he returned to London, where he continued to reside, and where he acted as consular agent for the United States, until his final return, in 1797, to his native soil.

It thus happened that the early years of Mrs. Adams were passed partly in Great Britain and partly in France, from each of which she derived advantages of observation, and opportunities for accomplishment in mind and manners, not very common with her countrywomen of that day. These eminently fitted her for the part she was in after-life called to perform. In the house of her father in London, then a general resort for all Americans, who, whether for business or pleasure, frequented that metropolis, she was introduced into society; and it was here that Mr. John Quincy Adams, when commissioned by President Washington to exchange the ratifications of the Treaty of 19th November, 1794, and to agree upon arrangements for carrying some of its provisions into execution, found her. The dry details of diplomatic conference were relieved by evenings of social intercourse, and the formalities of British negotiation made less tedious by the awakening of the most agreeable sympathies. Mr. Pinkney arrived, and Mr. Adams became released from his official duties; but in the mean time a matrimonial engagement had been contracted, which, on the 26th day of July, 1797, that is, the year following these events, terminated in a marriage, at the church of All-Hallows, where Miss Johnson became Mrs. Adams.

The discriminating eye of President Washington marked out Mr. Adams, while a young lawyer, in Boston, writing political essays upon the leading topics of that day, as fit for the public service. For some years prior to this marriage, he had been occupying the station

of minister resident at the Hague, and the eminent ability of his official despatches confirmed the impression he had previously made. It procured for him the very honorable and confidential trust which carried him to London, as well as a subsequent promotion to be Minister Plenipotentiary to Lisbon. He was upon the eve of departure at the period of his marriage, when the accession of his father, John Adams, to the Presidency, occurred. This was productive of no advancement, but simply of a transfer from Lisbon in Portugal, to a position in the same capacity at Berlin in Prussia.

Perhaps it is not easy at this time to form a just estimate of the position occupied by representatives of the United States at the Courts of the sovereigns of Europe at the period now referred to. We were regarded as hardly more than successful rebels, whose example was not entirely of good omen, and as yet manifesting in our local discord and disorganization, rather an incapacity for regulating a well-ordered State, than any prospect of arriving at a station of much political weight. Under such circumstances, the appearance of representatives at courts, to which none had before been sent, was an event not merely to excite curiosity. It was known that a new government, having some appearance of stability, had been organised, at the head of which had been placed General Washington; and the first impressions obtained from his administration were to be strengthened or not, according to the efficiency of the agents he might think proper to employ. To Berlin, where no minister had before been acknowledged, Mr. Adams repaired, conducting his wife, as a bride, at once to play her part in the higher circles of social and political life. It need scarcely be added, that she proved perfectly competent to this; and that during four years, which comprised the period of her stay at that court, notwithstanding almost continual ill-health, she succeeded in making friends and conciliating a degree of good will, the recollection of which is, even at this distance of time, believed to be among the most agreeable of the associations with her varied life.

In 1801, after the birth of her eldest child, she embarked with Mr. Adams on his return to the United States. The revolution which had taken place in the political affairs of the country, determined him to resume the practice of the law in Boston, to which place she came, a stranger to the habits and manners, though not to the feelings, of the people about her. Scarcely had sufficient time elapsed to become at home, before she was called upon to follow the wandering fortunes of the wife of a United States' senator. Very fortunately for her, a sister had become established at Washington, in whose house she again met

the members of her own family, and thus found an agreeable home for those winter months, which other ladies, similarly situated, are rarely so happy as to enjoy. Almost always accompanying Mr. Adams, the alternative of Boston in summer and Washington in winter, continued with little intermission until the year 1808, when he resigned his seat in the senate of the United States. But in the ensuing year, 1809, a new revolution in her prospects and another scene awaited her. Mr. Adams was appointed by President Madison the first accredited minister to the empire of Russia; and as he was required to embark forthwith, she decided upon going with him, even at the cost of leaving with their grand-parents two of her children, to pursue their education at home, and taking only the third and youngest, then an infant of about two years old. They sailed from Boston early in August, and after a long and somewhat hazardous passage, arrived in St. Petersburg towards the close of October.

Here, again, Mrs. Adams was destined to be the first lady presented to the notice of the Russian court as a representative of American female manners and character, and here again she succeeded in making a favorable impression. But there were circumstances which rendered her abode at St. Petersburg much less agreeable to herself than it had been at Berlin. The great distance from America was not the only obstacle to communication. The extraordinary events which occurred in Europe at this period, rendered the difficulties much greater than usual in obtaining that information respecting those whom she had left behind, which was essentially necessary to cheerfulness; and the severity of the winter climate, together with the more formal and less friendly character of Russian society, did not contribute to its acquisition. Domestic sorrow, too, in the loss of an infant daughter, born during her stay there, threw its shadow over the scene. What universal anxiety marked the era, it is difficult in these quiet times to realise! For the civilized world was in arms; and while at one moment the desolating progress of Napoleon had almost touched the city in which she was then dwelling, and from which its own sovereign, the Emperor Alexander, was meditating a retreat; at another, the thunders of the British cannon were resounding from the walls of the American capital, within which her friends resided. Here were lessons of human vicissitude, in different quarters of the globe, which might well fix the mind in the contemplation of dark views of fortune, as well as the insecurity even of existence.

In this connection it is not unworthy of remark, that of all those persons sent from the United States as envoys to the court of St. Pe-

tersburg since Mr. Adams, whose stay was of nearly six years, but one (Mr. Middleton) has been content to remain for any period of considerable duration. The reason may probably be traced to the diametrical opposition of the Russian habits to those of our own country, the harshness of the climate, and to the exclusion, for so many of the winter months, from any thing approaching to social communication with home. Hence, high as this mission is held in the rank of political distinctions, it comes in no very long time to be felt by the incumbent as an expulsion from American society little short of an honorable exile. Mr. and Mrs. ADAMS were themselves anxious to return home long before they did, but were prevented by circumstances, which made their stay even more disagreeable. The principal of these was the general war. The offer made by Alexander, of mediation between Great Britain and the United States, promised at one moment to make St. Petersburg the seat of negotiation, but it was subsequently transferred to Ghent; and thither Mr. Adams was directed to proceed, to take his part as one of the commissioners. This was in April, 1814, and the fate of the attempt at reconciliation appeared so doubtful, and the state of Europe so unsettled, that it was deemed best he should go alone. Thus, in addition to all the causes of a general or temporary character, which make a Russian winter, in ordinary cases, something of a trial, Mrs. ADAMS was destined to pass her sixth season alone—separated from her husband, and from all the other relatives or friends who had accompanied her out, but who had one by one dropped off to find their way home. This was not agreeable, but there was no alternative.

Spring, however, brought with it cheerful tidings of the probability of peace and of departure. The general pacification preceded the particular treaty between Great Britain and the United States concluded at Ghent but a short time; and upon this Mrs. ADAMS received a proposition to proceed at once by a land journey to Paris there to rejoin her husband. To accept it, notwithstanding the difficulties which might be in the way of execution, was the work but of a moment. For to her mind, what could be the terror of a solitary journey through the late theatre of a furious and bloody war, the plains and villages still bearing palpable evidence of its horrors, compared with that charming prospect of a return to more genial climes, to the company of an affectionate husband, and an approximation towards her long-absent children.

Those who have known Mrs. ADAMS in her later days, will not be likely to imagine her as by nature robust, or by education bold. And yet few women of the age have undergone more extraordinary fatigue

in her various journeys, or displayed more energy in the accomplishment of her undertakings. None, however, was so well calculated to test the strength of her nerves as that now in question. The passports of the Russian Government, however strong, and the reflection upon herself of the diplomatic character of her husband, however sacred, would, even in the most quiet times, have scarcely overcome, with many of the delicately nurtured female sex, the apprehensions of a departure in a carriage, alone, at a season still early for travelling, with a son eight years of age to take care of, and only menial servants of untried, and, as it turned out, of suspicious fidelity for her guard. In such circumstances, to be fastened in a snow-drift with night coming on, and to be forced to rouse the peasants of the surrounding country to dig them out, which happened in Courland, was no slight matter. But it was of little significance compared to the complicated anxieties incident to the listening, at every stopping place, to the tales of robbery and murder just committed on the proposed route, so perpetually repeated at that time to the traveller; and to the warnings given by apparently friendly persons of the character of her own servants, corroborated by the loss of several articles of value; and, most of all, to the observation of the restless contention between jarring political passions, under which the whole continent of Europe was heaving until it burst forth at the return of Napoleon from Elba. Hardly a day passed that did not require of Mrs. Adams some presence of mind to avoid becoming implicated in the consequences of party fury. For even the slight symbol of a Polish cap on the head of her servant came near making food for popular quarrel. Such was the sensibility of the public mind at the time.

A less determined woman, upon hearing of the condition into which France was thrown by Napoleon's return, would have stopped short at some intermediate point, without venturing to complete her undertaking. Not so with Mrs. Adams. She dismissed her servants, both of whom professed to be themselves afraid of going further, procured others, and went on. But she had not gone very far before she unluckily found herself entangled with a considerable detachment of the wild soldiery, elated to excess by the arrival of their great chief, and then on its way to Paris to prepare, under his inspection, for that last scene of slaughter, the field of Waterloo. This was a very awkward position, as the troops seemed disposed to require from all around them the most unequivocal declaration of political faith. Mrs. Adams at once appealed to the commander of the detachment, and by his advice she was enabled to fall back, although not without the exercise of con-

siderable prudence, until the last of the men had passed, when she diverged into another road, and by making a considerable circuit, avoided any further meeting. Having proved in this manner that calmness and presence of mind render many things perfectly practicable which imagination at first invests with insuperable difficulties, she arrived in Paris safe and well, there to be greeted by her husband, on the evening of the 21st of March, 1815, immediately after that of the memorable arrival of Napoleon and the flight of the Bourbons.

The beginning of the celebrated hundred days! What an exciting moment to reach the French capital! crowded as it was with troops, collecting for the impending trial at arms, and its streets alive with that enthusiasm which, in its highest degree, it appears to be only within the scope of military heroism to excite. Whatever may have been the feeling elsewhere than in Paris, there could not be a shadow of doubt in the mind of any spectator, that in the affections of the populace of Paris, as well as of the army, Napoleon was an idol. While, on the one hand, his appearance but for a few instants upon one of the balconies of the palace of the Tuilleries, was a signal for acclamation from the thousands who frequented its gardens to gain a glimpse of him; on the other, curses loud and deep, not unmingled with ridicule and contempt, were every where to be heard uttered against Louis and the allies. Here was room for observation to last a lifetime! Here was room for testing even the contrasts of this world; for at one and the same moment the splendid reviews of a cavalry force rarely surpassed, were filling the square of the Place Carousel with its loudest and most spirit-stirring notes, and the yet unremoved collections of what the genius of centuries had hallowed, were spreading around them in the halls of the Louvre a sense of the solemn stillness and repose of the highest walk of art. Mrs. Adams was capable of appreciating the advantages thus thrown in her way; and to her, whose European life had carried her very little to the great French metropolis, this opportunity of seeing it at such a period, well rewarded her effort to reach it, and was ever considered among the most fortunate events in her existence.

But, however interesting Paris might be, there were ties in Great Britain to Mrs. Adams, where her husband's new duty as the Minister from the United States called him, which made her leave France with little regret. These ties were her children, who had come out from America to join her, and whose arrival afforded her a joy, for the absence of which no brilliant scenes could compensate. In itself, a residence in England so immediately after a war between the two countries, which had terminated not quite to the satisfaction of her pride,

was not calculated to be productive of much pleasure; yet it may fairly be questioned whether, in the bosom of her reunited family, and in the sweet but modest country-seat in the vicinity of London selected for their habitation, Mrs. Adams did not draw as much enjoyment from her domestic feelings, as she ever did from witnessing any of the more busy and exciting scenes in which she has been called to participate.

Two years thus elapsed, when the election of Mr. Monroe to the Presidency became the precursor of another change. One of his first official acts was the appointment of Mr. Adams to the responsible station of Secretary of State in his administration, and this, of course, required his immediate return to the United States. Upon receiving the intelligence, he took passage with his family in a vessel bound from London to New-York, where he arrived on the 6th of August, 1817, after just eight years of absence from his native country. Mrs. Adams thus took leave of Europe, after having passed in it the greater portion of her life, and that during a period, perhaps, as remarkable for a crowded succession of astonishing events as any in the history of man. To have lived in such times, so distinguished for the presence of all that exalts, adorns, or merely gives lustre to human action, was something of a privilege; but to have moved in scenes so various and so distant from each other, among the principal agents in all the great events at different points, was the lot among American ladies of scarcely any, excepting Mrs. Adams. Nevertheless she returned to our republican circles unwedded to the habits of a court, her mind unawed by the splendor either of civil or military monarchy.

The performance of the duties of the State department necessarily required a residence at Washington, and the manner in which Mr. Adams thought proper to devote himself to them, devolved upon his lady the entire task of making his house an agreeable resort to the multitudes of visiters who crowd to the capital on errands of business, or curiosity, or pleasure, from the various sections of the United States, during the winter season. A large diplomatic corps from foreign countries, who feel themselves in more immediate relations with the Secretary of State, and a distinguished set of public men, not then divided by party lines in the manner which usually prevails, rendered the society of that time, and Mrs. Adams's house, where it most often concentrated, among the most agreeable recorded in our annals. Much as it has been ridiculed since, the "era of good feelings" had some characteristics peculiar to itself. For an instant, sectional animosities relented, the tone of personal denunciation and angry crimination, too gene-

rally prevailing in extremes, yielded; and even where the jealous rivalry for political honors still predominated in the hearts of men, the easy polish of general society removed from casual spectators any sense of its roughness, or inconvenience from its impetuosity. Washington may have presented more brilliant spectacles since, but the rancor of party spirit has ever mingled its baleful force too strongly, not to be perceptible in the personal relations which have existed between the most distinguished of our political men.

During the eight years in which Mrs. Adams presided in the house of the Secretary of State, no exclusions were made in her invitations, merely on account of any real or imagined political hostility; nor, though keenly alive to the reputation of her husband, was any disposition manifested to do more than to amuse and enliven society. In this, the success was admitted to be complete, as all will remember who were then in the habit of frequenting her dwelling. But in proportion as the great contest for the Presidency, in which Mr. Adams was involved, approached, the violence of partisan warfare began to manifest its usual bad effects, and Mrs. Adams became inclined to adopt habits of greater seclusion. When, at last, the result had placed her in the President's mansion, her health began to fail her so much, that though she continued to preside upon occasions of public reception, she ceased to appear at any other times, and she began to seek the retirement, which ever since her return to private life she has preferred. Mr. Adams has been, it is true, and still continues, a representative in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and this renders necessary an annual migration from that State to Washington, and back again, as well as a winter residence within the sound of the gaieties of that place; but while her age and health dispense her from the necessities of attending them, severe domestic afflictions have contributed to remove the disposition. Thus the attractions of great European capitals, and the dissipation consequent upon high official station at home, though continued through that part of life when habits become most fixed, have done nothing to change the natural elegance of her manners nor the simplicity of her tastes. In the society of a few friends and near relatives, and in the cultivation of the religious affections without display, she draws all the consolation that can in this world be afforded for her privations. To the world Mrs. Adams presents a fine example of the possibility of retiring from the circles of fashion, and the external fascinations of life, in time still to retain a taste for the more quiet, though less showy attractions of the domestic fireside. A strong literary taste, which has led her to read much, and a capacity for com-

position in prose and verse, have been resources for her leisure moments, not with a view to that exhibition which renders such accomplishments too often fatal to the more delicate shades of feminine character, but for her own gratification, and that of a few relations and friends. The late President Adams used to draw much amusement in his latest years at Quincy, from the accurate delineation of Washington manners and character, which was regularly transmitted, for a considerable period, in letters from her pen. And if, as time advances, she becomes gradually less able to devote her sense of sight to reading and writing, her practice of the more homely female virtues of manual industry, so highly commended in the final chapter of the book of Solomon, still amuses the declining days of her varied career.

Wm H Crawford

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

William Harris Crawford was born in Nelson County, Virginia, 24th February, 1772. In 1779, his father, Joel Crawford, removed with his family to Stevens' Creek, Edgefield District, South Carolina, about thirty miles above Augusta. The next winter, the British troops having taken Savannah and Augusta, Mr. Crawford returned north over Broad River, into Chester District. Soon after South Carolina was overrun by the British, he was seized and thrown into Camden jail as a rebel. Here he remained the greater part of the summer, and was released on some of his neighbors becoming his security. In 1783 he removed into Georgia, and settled on Kiokee Creek, Columbia County.

The disturbances of the country had an unfavorable influence upon its schools. The advantages for educating its youth were at best very meagre. Young Crawford went to school a few months while his parents resided in South Carolina, and discovered such capacity for receiving instruction, as determined his father, when permanently settled in Georgia, to send him to Scotland, and give him a thorough education. He made arrangements with a Scotch merchant in Augusta, for supplying his son with funds during his residence at the University; but the merchant, in a fit of derangement, having attempted to cut his own throat, Mr. Crawford thought it unsafe to entrust him with funds and with the superintendence of his son. Having abandoned the idea of sending him abroad, he put him to school in the country, and gave him the best English education he could, and in 1788 set him to teaching school. Before this year expired, his father died, and the disease then prevalent in the country (probably small-pox) swept away most of the valuable servants of the family, and reduced them to very narrow circumstances. To aid his mother in supporting a large and almost helpless family, young Crawford taught school, more or less, for three or four years. In 1794 the Re-

verend Dr. Waddel opened a Latin school in Columbia, called Carmel Academy. The desire of obtaining a classical education, which had been lost sight of since his father's death, now revived, and Mr. CRAWFORD entered the Academy, and remained in it two years, studying the usual Latin and Greek authors, philosophy, and the French language. The last year he was usher in the school, and received for his services one third of the tuition money. In this situation he remained until April 1796, and made the best possible use of his opportunities. In that month, this obscure usher, not dreaming of politics, but still anxious to increase his stock of useful learning, with a hope finally to obtain a profession, bent his way to Augusta, there to fling himself in the way of fortune's gambols, and to receive whatever the sportings of her fancy might turn up to an unknown but bold adventurer. His means were, however, perfectly inadequate to the objects he had in view. He obtained a situation in the Richmond Academy, where he remained in the double character of student and instructor until the year 1798, when he was appointed Rector of that institution. During his residence in Augusta he studied law, to the practice of which he was admitted in the course of that year. He was a self-taught law scholar. It may be remarked, that while he was engaged in his scholastic and professional studies, he supported a character for the most exemplary morality and prudence, and was a most indefatigable, close, and laborious student.

Mr. CRAWFORD was a man considerably above ordinary height, large, muscular, and well-proportioned. His head and face were remarkably striking, and impressed the beholder at once with the belief that he must possess more than ordinary powers of intellect. His complexion was fair, and, until late in life, ruddy. His features were strong and regular. When at rest, they indicated great firmness and perseverance of character. When he smiled, an engaging benignity overspread his whole countenance. His eyes, before they were affected by his protracted illness at Washington, were clear blue, mild, though radiant. Those who never made his acquaintance until his return to Georgia, will be apt to consider this description of his person overwrought, while those who knew him in the prime of life will hardly think it does him justice. His deportment was affable, his step firm, his gait erect and manly, but not ostentatious, indicating courage and independence.

His manners, though free from stiffness and hauteur, were never very graceful. They were such, however, as to make all about him feel easy. There was in him a certain consciousness of superior mind,

as has been said of another, which could not always be repressed nor withdrawn from observation. He was at all times a man of decided feelings—warm in his attachments, and vehement in his resentments. He was prompt to repel insults, and equally prompt to forgive whenever an appeal was made to his clemency. No personal labor was too great to be endured, if by it he could elevate modest merit from poverty to comfort, or advance the interests and honor of his friends. No child of distress ever made an unsuccessful appeal to his charity. His rule was to give something in every case, but to regulate the amount by the necessities which urged the call.

Few men have felt such perfect contempt for show and display as Mr. Crawford. His dress was always plain, and never at all in his way. Indeed, he gave himself no care whatever about what he should wear. At the age of thirty-two, after a seven years' engagement, which had been suspended by his poverty, he married Susannah Girardin, of Augusta, who still survives, and who resides at Woodlawn, his country-seat, where he settled in 1804, and where he resided from that period to the day of his death, except when engaged in the public service. After marriage, he referred the subject of dress to Mrs. Crawford, who was as plain and unaffected in her taste as himself. Though his situation in public life often required him, out of respect to the customs of the country, and to avoid the charge of eccentricity, to keep up a style and equipage of unwonted splendor, it was manifest that his heart was not in it; nor does any one, at all acquainted with the man, believe for a moment, that his opposition to these things proceeded from penuriousness, or any kindred sentiment. He was a man of unquestioned liberality. He was seldom known to ask the price of any thing, and never considered any thing dear that added to the pleasure and comfort of himself or family. At an early age he imbibed the sentiment, that dandyism and intellectuality were antagonistic traits of character; and he was heard to say, a short time before his death, that amidst an extensive acquaintance with men of distinction in this country and in Europe, he had seen but two dandies who were men of genius. Modest virtue, sound sense, and stern integrity were the surest passports to his esteem. With these, a poor man was a prince in his affections; without them, a prince was the poorest of all beings.

Mr. Crawford's house has often been styled "Liberty Hall" by those familiar with the unrestrained mirthfulness, hilarity, and social glee which marked his fireside; and the perfect freedom with which every child, from the eldest to the youngest, expressed his or her opinion upon the topics suggested by the moment, whether those to

pics referred to men or measures. His children were always encouraged to act out their respective characters precisely as they were, and the actions and sentiments of each were always a fair subject ot commendation, or good-humored ridicule by the rest. They criticised the opinions and conduct of the father, with the same freedom as those of each other, and he acknowledged his errors or argued his defence with the same kind spirit and good temper as distinguished his course towards them in every other case. The family government was one of the best specimens of democracy the world has ever seen. There was nothing like faction in the establishment. According to the last census, before marriage and emigration commenced, the population was ten, consisting of father and mother and eight children, of whom five are sons and three daughters. Suffrage on all questions was universal, extending to male and female. Freedom of speech and equal rights were felt and acknowledged to be the birthright of each. Knowledge was a common stock, to which each felt a peculiar pleasure in contributing according as opportunity enabled him. When afflictions or misfortunes came, each bore a share in the common burden. When health and prosperity returned, each became emulous of heightening the common joy. Chess, drafts, and other games, involving calculation and judgment, and plays which called for rapid thought, quick perception, and ready answers, formed sources of in-door amusements. Those requiring vigor of nerve and agility of muscle were performed upon the green. In all these sports upon the green and in the house, Mr. CRAWFORD was, even down to his last days, the companion of his children ; delighting them often by taking part himself. Though the disease of which he suffered so much while at Washington deprived him of his activity, his zeal for the gratification of his children, and his delight in contributing all he could to their happiness, knew no abatement. As a husband, he was kind, affectionate, and devoted. He was never ostentatious in his attachments to any one, always evincing his regard more by substantial beneficence than by words. No parent was ever better beloved of his children than he. His home instructions were of incalculable advantage to them. He never contented himself with merely sending them to schools of highest and best repute, but made a personal examination of them almost every day, that he might see and know for himself how they progressed and how they were taught. He was in the habit of drawing them around him in a class, and requiring them to read with him. On these occasions, the Bible was his chief class-book, and Job and Psalms his favorite portions. The attention

and instructions here mentioned were faithfully accorded during the whole time of his cabinet service at Washington, except during his extreme illness. After his return from Georgia, and his partial recovery from his disease, he still kept up an intimate acquaintance with the progress of his younger children, and the manner of their instruction at school; though his general debility prevented his being so indefatigable as he had been. At no time of his life did he ever lose sight of the importance of storing the minds of his children with virtuous principles. The strict observance of truth, the maintenance of honor, generosity, and integrity of character, he never ceased to enjoin upon them as indispensable to respectability and happiness.

It is not within the knowledge of any of his children that he was ever guilty of profane swearing. He never made a profession of religion, but was a decided believer in Christianity, a life member of the American Bible Society, a Vice-President of the American Colonization Society, and a regular contributor to the support of the gospel.

Though Mr. CRAWFORD'S strides to political preferment were long and unusually rapid, as will be seen in the course of this sketch, they were not free from those difficulties and embarrassments which have often beset the way of those who have aspired to places of high honor and distinction. In all ages of the world, men of low minds and corrupt hearts have so far controlled popular sentiment, as to infuse into it principles, which, when subjected to the tests of enlightened wisdom, sound ethics, and the highest and best dictates of refined humanity, must, without hesitation, be pronounced erroneous. The history of man evinces that no order of intelligence on earth has, at all times hitherto, been sufficiently strong, successfully to oppose those practices which have been the legitimate result of such principles. Thus much must be conceded of those mortal conflicts which spring from the law of honor, as exhibited in the opinions, and enforced by the examples, of some of the most illustrious statesmen and patriots of this country and Europe. That the subject of this notice was, in the commencement of his career, himself imbued with this philosophy, (this false philosophy,) and that he gave a practical illustration of his faith upon two occasions, it were useless to deny or conceal. It is believed, however, that he ever afterwards looked upon this part of his history with deep and poignant regret. The only affair* of this kind, with which he was afterwards connected, was one not of his own, and in which he consented to act as se-

* Eppes and Randolph.

cond, only that he might restore peace between the parties. This he did most effectually, and by his course in the matter secured the abiding confidence of all concerned.

In the spring of 1799, Mr. CRAWFORD removed into Oglethorpe County; and without money or patron commenced the practice of law, in what was then called the Western, now the Northern Circuit of Georgia. Such were his perseverance, industry, and talents, that he soon attracted the notice of that distinguished statesman and sound jurist, Peter Early, then at the head of his profession in the Up Country, and to whom he became warm and ardently attached. His great professional zeal, that always made his client's cause his own, his unremitted attention to business, his punctuality and promptness in its despatch, his undisguised frankness and official sincerity, disdaining the little artifices and over-reaching craft of the profession, combined with a dignity which, springing from self-respect alone, was entirely unmingled with affectation, his honesty and irreproachable moral character, accompanied with manners the most plain, simple, and accessible, secured for him a public and private reputation seldom equalled, and never surpassed in any country. His most prominent virtue was a bold and lofty ingenuousness of mind; in any intercourse whatever with him it was his most striking trait, and yet it was far from being studied. He never engaged, by a smooth and flexible manner, either in the utterance of his sentiments or the tendency of his address: in the first he was polite and unassuming, though confident and decided; in the latter he was easy without ostentation, and commanding without arrogance. In the court-house, as well as at home, the blind veneration and respectful awe, by no means inconsiderable, which were usually paid to the graces and proud carriage of person, the fascinating richness and gaiety of apparel, and the splendor of equipage, he neither claimed nor desired; brought up and educated altogether free from such vain allurements, he never suffered his native strength of mind and unaffected manly simplicity to yield in the slightest degree to their influence. After Mr. Early went to Congress in 1802, Mr. CRAWFORD might fairly be said to stand at the head of the bar in his circuit.

As a lawyer, he was courteous and liberal. As a speaker, not so much distinguished for fluency or elegance of style, as clearness of illustration and cogency of argument. In a conversation with the writer during his judicial service, he said he did not remember to have lost a case at the bar in which he had had the concluding speech. As a pleader, he was exceedingly neat and accurate. His hand-writing

was large, plain, elegant, and free. He left nothing to be supplied by the clerk; and his opposing counsel might see at the first glance the complaint or defence of his client set forth with a convincing clearness that created a feeling in advance that it must be just. His speeches were always short, rarely exceeding half an hour in any case. He had the faculty of seizing at once upon all the strong points of a case, and presenting each in its natural order with a simplicity, brevity, perspicuity and force, which told with unfailing effect upon the minds of the court and jury. He was always armed with such discrimination as enabled him to detect the least flaw in the argument of his adversary, and no fallacy was allowed to pass unexposed. No incident connected with the testimony, which could be wielded to the advantage of his client or against his opponent, ever escaped the tenacity of his memory. His social intercourse with the members of the profession, whom he considered worthy of his respect, was unrestrained; and many and loud were the roars of laughter that succeeded his well-told anecdotes. His presence was an effectual antidote to dulness; his mirth was irresistible. Stupid, indeed, was the man who could not yield some sparks of intellect when brought into social intercourse with him. Although he left society largely in arrears to him on the score of contribution to social enjoyment, no man was easier pleased, none felt a livelier sympathy in the interests and feelings of others.

Oglethorpe called him four years to represent her in the Legislature, and during that period she found in him a faithful respresentative. Many laws, now of force in the State, bear the impress of his wisdom as a legislator. It was as a member of the Legislature of Georgia that he laid the foundation for that extensive and permanent popularity as a politician which he ever afterwards enjoyed. In 1807 he was elected to the Senate of the United States, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of the great, and good, and highly-gifted Abraham Baldwin; and re-elected in 1811 without opposition. On entering the Senate of the United States, Mr. Crawford came in immediate collision with that veteran debater, the Honorable William B. Giles of Virginia. The very creditable manner in which he sustained himself in that contest, won for him, in the outset, a high reputation for talents, which he retained as long as he continued to be a member of that body. Most of those who were numbered in the republican ranks in 1810 and later, even up to 1812, were somewhat distrustful of the navy as a means of national defence, and opposed its considerable enlargement. A very current sentiment of those

days was, that the navy was but too well calculated to embroil us with other nations. It will be remembered that the reduction of the navy was a prominent feature in Mr. Jefferson's administration. It must be confessed that Mr. CRAWFORD participated in this opinion to a considerable extent. But, in common with most of his political friends and associates, its brilliant achievements during the last war, won him over to a more favorable opinion of that department of the public service. In fact, he became a strong advocate of the navy. After the peace, in 1815, one of the first measures adopted, was an act of Congress for the increase of the navy, and an annual appropriation of $1,000,000 to that object. In this measure nine tenths of both houses concurred, and the wisdom and propriety of it received Mr. CRAWFORD's hearty acquiescence. Shortly after, in one of his reports, he styles the navy "an essential means of national defence." In all questions of appropriation he was the uncompromising advocate of the rule, that the objects and places of expenditure should be distinct and specific, so as to leave as little as possible to executive discretion. He was a warm and decided advocate for an early resort to arms, to redress the injuries and indignities heaped upon this country by Great Britain, and which laid the foundation for the last war. This is manifest from his votes in the Senate upon every question leading to a declaration of war throughout the years 1811 and 1812.

He voted for the bill authorizing fifty thousand volunteers to be received by the President—for increasing the army twenty-five thousand —for an act concerning the navy, fitting out certain frigates; and was friendly to the passage of an act for increasing the navy, passed 2d January 1813, by which the building of four seventy-fours and six forty-four gun frigates was authorized. His vote is to be found recorded for the passage of the law by which war was declared, and uniformly against every proposition for its modification. He was then President, *pro tempore*, of the Senate; and had been elevated to that distinguished station during the session of Congress in which the war was declared, and at a time when no man of equivocal political opinions, or doubtful sentiments, on the question of peace or war, would have been, by a decidedly republican Senate, placed in that dignified office. This will readily account for Mr. CRAWFORD's not having made a speech in favor of a declaration of war; he was the presiding officer of the Senate, and had been so more than four months; and by the peculiar rule of that body could not, without leaving the station to which he had been called, participate in debate.

The embargo, and the bank, formed two other questions of grave

import and high national excitement during his senatorial career. His course upon both was prompt, fearless, and independent. The former he opposed in the teeth of a popular and powerful administration; to the latter he gave a vigorous support, though unqualified opposition to it upon constitutional grounds was at that day, as it still is, one of the tests of republican discipleship. It is known, however, to his intimate friends, that the careful perusal of the secret debates of the convention which framed the constitution, and the debates upon the adoption of that instrument by the States, produced a change in his opinion upon the constitutionality of the bank.

In 1813, after declining the office of Secretary of War, tendered him by President Madison, he was sent minister to the Court of St. Cloud.

The Argus, in which he sailed, under the command of Captain Allen, entered the port of L'Orient the 11th of July, 1813, being twenty-one days from New-York.

What he did during his two years' residence at Paris, is already a matter of recorded history. It is enough to say, in this place, that his official notes evinced the clearest understanding of the questions pending between the two governments, and in them the rights of this country are set forth in the strongest and most imposing light, and pressed upon the empire, and afterwards upon the crown, with a force of logic, a confident boldness, and ceaseless vigilance, worthy of such a cause. During his stay at Paris he was the confidential friend and correspondent of our eminently distinguished negotiators for peace at Ghent.

Among the most pleasing incidents connected with his residence in Paris, was the acquaintance he formed with the hero of two hemispheres, the illustrious La Fayette. It would seem from the letters of this great and good man, which Mr. Crawfrod has preserved with more than his usual care, that their acquaintance ripened into the strongest personal friendship; and that their intercourse was of the most confidential character. In these letters the politics of France are discussed with an unsuspecting freedom on the part of the General, and often with an unsparing severity, rarely surpassed in the interchange of opinions between sworn friends in the freest government on earth. To Mr. Crawford's auspices he principally confided the direction and management of his patents to the land granted him by Congress, in Louisiana, as a small return for his unparalleled sacrifices in the cause of freedom, his timely and efficient aid, and his brilliant achievements in our revolutionary struggle. This correspond-

ence was sustained on both sides with undiminished confidence and cordiality so long as the General lived.

On his return from France in 1815, he found that he had been appointed Secretary of War, in which department he served but a few months. In October following he was made Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Madison, and was that winter strongly solicited to allow his name to be put in nomination for the Presidency. But he promptly declined, saying that he was young enough to wait, and advised his friends to nominate and support Mr. Monroe. A caucus was held, in which Mr. Monroe received but a small majority of votes as the nominee over Mr. CRAWFORD, though he had so positively declined to allow his name to be run. A number of his strongest and most intimate friends refused to attend the caucus, resolving, as he would not allow them to vote for him, they would vote for no one else. It has often been confidently asserted by a great number of experienced politicians of that day, that if he had permttted his name to be put in nomination at that time, he might have been elected with perfect ease. This, of course, was a calculation founded on the signs of the times, a conclusion which may have been brought about as much by the propulsive power of strong political attachments, as by calm and dispassionate reasoning upon the course of events and the aspect of affairs. They knew that Mr. CRAWFORD could have been nominated without difficulty. The event showed the influence of such a nomination, as it resulted in the election of Mr. Monroe.

In 1817 Mr. CRAWFORD was re-appointed to the office of Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Monroe, and continued in that office till 1825, when he declined its acceptance under Mr. Adams's administration. Much of the period during which Mr. CRAWFORD acted as Secretary of the Treasury, times were very doubtful—our domestic relations embarrassed—pecuniary difficulties pressing upon the people—home and foreign commerce fluctuating—commercial capital deranged—a public debt to be managed, and, above all, a miserably depreciated and ruined currency had to be dealt with. The political essayists of those days agreed that it required ceaseless vigilance and profound ability to preserve the national estate from bankruptcy. But the public credit was never better at any period of the republic than during his administration of the affairs of the Treasury. The national debt was faithfully discharged, and the burdens of government upon the people were for the most part light and inconsiderable. At the time of greatest difficulty the *estimated* and *actual* receipts of the Treasury only varied ten per cent., while the estimates of his distin-

guished predecessors had varied from seventeen to twenty-one per cent. But perhaps the best evidence of his fidelity, zeal, and ability as cabinet officer in this department, was the length of time he served, the unbounded confidence reposed in him by Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe during the whole period of his service; the great interest manifested for his retention in that office by Mr. Gallatin; and Mr. J. Q. Adams's opinion of his merit, as evinced in his tendering him that office during his administration. Such men are rarely deceived in their estimate of character and qualifications.

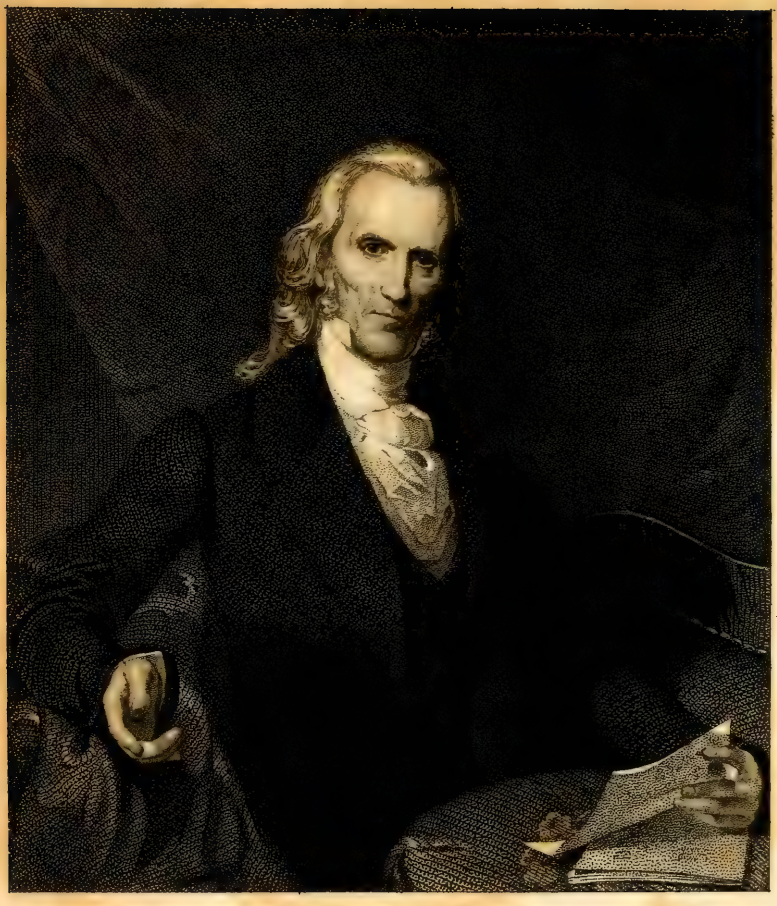
Many believe that Mr. CRAWFORD would have been chosen President in 1825, instead of Mr. Adams, if at the time of his election his health had not been so bad as to induce the belief that he could not survive his disease. He received an honorable vote from the electoral colleges. Whether his defeat were the result of illness or other cause, those who know his family, know that the prospect of retreating into private life, and of enjoying without interruption the society of the father, was hailed as a joyous era in the family history. If it were asserted that Mr. CRAWFORD himself experienced a secret gratification at the result, so far as he was concerned, and so far as his happiness was involved, few would credit the declaration. And yet none would doubt its truth who knew the facts. All believed that the atmosphere of Washington nourished the disease which was wasting his remaining strength and threatening his life; and under such circumstances, the honors of the presidency were as the small dust of the balance compared with the prospect of his restoration of health.

In 1827, after the death of Judge Dooly, Mr. CRAWFORD was appointed by Governor Troup, without solicitation, Judge of the Northern Circuit of Georgia. In 1828 the Legislature elected him to the same office without opposition. Three years after he was a candidate for re-election; and though he had an opponent whose plans for his defeat were well concocted, he obtained his election on the first balloting.

One effect of Mr. CRAWFORD's long and distressing illness, to which allusion has been so often made, was, that it entailed upon him considerably more excitability of temper than he had ever before manifested. He used occasionally to exhibit this new trait of character, which was the offspring of disease, while upon the bench. His greatest annoyance was, what he called a "silly speech;" and though such speeches were of rare occurrence at the bar in his circuit, yet they did sometimes come out, and when they did, the Judge's patience was sure to suffer. Nevertheless he was considered able, upright, and impartial. His distinguishing trait, as a Judge, was, that he would not be tied down to the strict

technicalities of law when they would work a manifest injustice to either of the parties litigant. In such a case he would say, "*Summum jus* is sometimes *summa injuria*, and I must so construe the rule as to do the parties substantial justice." Those of his decisions which were made with deliberation, are considered as high authority as those of any Judge the State has ever had. The case of the State *vs.* Tassels may be mentioned as one of the most important which came before him while upon the bench. It did not originate in his circuit; but having been referred to all the Judges, he was appointed by the rest to write out the opinion. If any should still believe the slander that his mind was made imbecile by his illness at Washington, let him read its refutation in that decision.

He was in the active discharge of the duties of Judge of the Northern Circuit when he died. He set out on his way to Court on Saturday, and was taken sick that night at the house of a friend, and died at 2 o'clock the succeeding Monday morning, being the 15th September, 1834. His physicians were of the opinion that his disease was an affection of the heart. He died apparently without pain or fever. He sleeps at Woodlawn, under a plain mound of earth, without tombstone or inscription; and no one near him but a little grandson of two years old, who had preceded him by about fifteen months.



Engraved by T B Welch from a Painting by E.G. Leutze

HUGH LAWSON WHITE

Hugh L White

HUGH L. WHITE.

Hugh L. White was born in Iredell county, North Carolina, in the year 1773. He was the son of respectable and influential parentage, of Irish descent. His father, James White, was a soldier in our memorable struggle for independence; afterwards a general of Tennessee militia, and served with high honor and distinction in the late Creek war. At the close of the Revolution he removed first to Virginia, and then emigrated to Knox county, Tennessee, when Hugh was thirteen years of age. At the time of which we speak, Tennessee was a wilderness; and into this wild abode was the family of Mr. White ushered, with no defence but personal prowess, and no means of subsistence but what were seized in the face of danger and death. But the hardships and perils which the early pioneer had to encounter from the natural obstacles of the unsubdued forest and its terrific inhabitants, have been too often and glowingly described, and are too well known, even to infancy, to need relation here. But in these dangers and perils the family of Mr. White bore no ordinary share. At the age of nineteen Hugh volunteered as a private soldier in the Indian campaigns. In these he was soon distinguished as a brave, vigilant, and untiring soldier. He possessed a constitution peculiarly fitted for rugged duties—a constitution which has preserved its elasticity and firmness, almost in primitive vigor, beyond the boundary of three-score years. These scenes of his early life are interesting only as they were the rough school of discipline in which he acquired and strengthened those hardy Roman virtues which have distinguished his character throughout his whole public career.

The early education of Hugh L. White, was not as thorough and extensive as he could have wished it, and as it would have been under more favorable circumstances. The refinements of polished scholarship had hardly been introduced into Tennessee at that early day. But of the more practical and useful branches of education, such as

qualified him for the discharge of the immediate duties of life, he acquired the utmost that the schools of that day afforded. He was instructed in the ancient languages by the Rev. Samuel Carrick, and Mr. (afterwards Judge) Roane, gentlemen of no mean proficiency in scholarship. To these attainments he afterwards added a course of mathematics, under Professor Patterson of Philadelphia. In 1795 he left Philadelphia for Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he entered the office of James Hopkins, an eminent lawyer, under whose superintendence he devoted himself with great ardor to the study of the law. Having completed the usual preparatory course, he returned, in 1796, to Knoxville, where he commenced the practice of his profession.

For the five succeeding years Judge WHITE devoted himself unremittingly to the duties of his profession, and rose to high and honorable distinction at the bar. The science of jurisprudence was his especial study; and with such zeal and ability did he enter into the investigation, that he was selected at the early age of twenty-eight, from a body of able and experienced lawyers, to fill the office of Judge of the Superior Court; at that time the highest judicial tribunal in the State. This seat he held till 1807, when he resigned.

As a lawyer, Judge WHITE was one of the most distinguished in the early history of Tennessee. Nor was the bar of Tennessee at that time wanting in men of the first order in legal attainments. Jackson, Whiteside, Overton, and G. W. Campbell were then in the prime of their legal celebrity, and with such men was he associated upon the bench. In legal argumentation, Judge WHITE had but few superiors; yet he was always as fair and honest in debate as he was cogent. He never turned aside to take advantage of quibbles, and quirks, and senseless technicalities; but built his premises upon the plain and obvious meaning of the law, and with abstract truth as his guide, he seldom failed to carry his point. He viewed every thing like cunning and subtlety in the pleadings of the bar with detestation, as he always has the tricks and manœuvres, and intrigues of party politicians. There need be no better evidence that Judge WHITE possessed every qualification of the able, profound, and enlightened jurist, than that he was afterwards appointed, (or would have been appointed on condition of his accepting,) a seat upon the Supreme Bench of the United States, which distinguished post of honor he declined. When he was elevated from the bar to the bench, he brought to the discharge of its difficult functions all the qualities already enumerated, and superadded to the essential attributes of judicial authority, great mildness and suavity of manners; yet was he always firm, and dignified, and uncompromis-

ing when duty demanded. To maintain such an office with popularity and respect, both from the people and the bar, is the surest test of merit. Spurious talents or superficial learning cannot be played off undetected upon the bench. The strict integrity of Judge WHITE was proverbial. His opinions were generally remarkable for perspicuity and strength, and many of them able specimens of judicial acumen and research. His long services in his judicial capacity acquired for him the greatest respect and esteem from the gentlemen of the profession, and conferred lasting honor on the bar of Tennessee. Such ample opportunities as were presented during twelve years' experience on the bench, and especially, when afterwards practised upon and enlarged in the course of his political experience, have rendered Judge WHITE thoroughly acquainted with the spirit and character of the laws of his country.

An interesting anecdote is told of this period of his life, quite characteristic of his republican simplicity. A student of law came a considerable distance to be examined by him, in order to obtain license. The young man had heard much of his ability and learning as a jurist, and expected to be much embarrassed in his presence; but he mustered courage, visited his residence, and on being informed that the Judge was on his farm, went out, and intercepted a man ploughing, and asked for Judge WHITE. "I am the man," was the reply. "I wish to get license to practise law, and have come to be examined." "Well, sir, if you will be good enough to come down into the shade, I will attend to it with a great deal of pleasure." He secured his plough-horse, got over into the cool shade, and took the young man through a most learned and rigid examination—found that he was well qualified, and, after inviting him to his house, and showing him every mark of hospitality and politeness, gave him a license.

In the year 1807 he resigned his judgeship, and retired, in a great measure, to his farm. Agricultural pursuits had always been a favorite occupation, even in the midst of laborious studies; and he would be frequently found in the intervals of his engagements, ploughing in his fields. There appears always to have been a congeniality between great and good minds in the pursuits of agriculture. We pretend not to divine the philosophy of it, or to determine, as has often been contended, why it is that patriotism exists in so much more elevated and fervent devotion in the retirement of the farm than in the busy throng of crowded cities. Whether the fact be so or not, certain it is that many of the noblest instances of sterling patriotism and high-souled principle that have ever figured in the drama of human actions, have been found

among those most devoted to agricultural pursuits. Hypocrisy and intrigue, which are the elements of contracted minds, have nought to do in the retirement of the farm; but far removed from the long catalogue of human frailties and vices with which they are so painfully conversant in public life, the good and the great are gratified with the view of the brighter side of humanity, and have there to deal with characters and actions more congenial with the simplicity and greatness of their own natures. Like Jefferson, and Washington, and Madison, Judge WHITE could be induced to leave his farm only when duty, which was the supreme law of his nature, demanded; and when that was performed, he left the rivalries and commotions of public life without a regret, to those whose business it was to foster them.

About this time Judge WHITE was appointed District Attorney for the United States, which station he soon resigned. In 1807 he was elected a senator to the State legislature. While a member of this body he performed many important services to Tennessee, and was the author of a system of land law; for which Tennesseans, who recollect the frauds and controversies of the old system, will ever be grateful. The speech in which he advocated the measure was one of the first which he made as a politician, and was said to have been one of unusual power. In 1809 the judiciary of Tennessee was re-organized, and a Supreme Court instituted. In this high tribunal he was appointed to preside, although he was not a candidate, and was absent from the seat of government two hundred miles when the legislature conferred the appointment. He held this office for six years, and from his faithfulness and ability acquired the utmost respect and popularity from the people, by whose delegated authority he had been appointed. Previous to his resignation in 1815 he was elected President of the State bank. Under his auspices the institution flourished in a high degree, and acquired much character for the prudence and ability of its administration, and the stability of its operations. It obtained a standing in the west equally honorable to the State and beneficial to its financial concerns. He continued twelve years at the head of this institution, including the period of the late war—a period which will be long remembered in the political history of the United States for fiscal distrust, confusion, and difficulty; and which, but for the energies of one man, would have rendered bankrupt the credit of the whole nation.

But while engaged in the double duties of Judge and President of the Bank, he did not forget his country. During the darkest period of the Creek campaign, when General Jackson was surrounded with difficulties such as would have crushed any other man, his brave men

contending not only with savages, but with famine and want, and sustaining life on roots and acorns, Hugh L. White left the bench, and with a single companion, the Hon. Luke Lea, started for the wilderness, hired an Indian guide, and after several days and nights of perilous adventure, found the general's encampment. He told the veteran, that having heard of his difficulties, he had left his business, and come to share his toils and dangers. It was determined, after some consultation, that the Judge should return through the wilderness to Tennessee, and exert his influence in raising volunteers and procuring provisions for the distressed and famishing army. While absent on this expedition, he missed several terms of his court, and by the laws of Tennessee the judges were paid only in proportion to duty performed. The legislature, in consideration of the great services he had rendered General Jackson, passed an order that there should be no deduction of his salary. But with characteristic magnanimity he declined the offer, and would receive no more than that for which he rendered actual service. He said that his country was in distress, that the aid he had rendered was without the hope of reward, and that he would receive none.

In 1817 Hugh L. White was again elected senator by a majority approaching unanimity; and served with distinction the period for which he had been elected.

But the abilities of Hugh L. White were too distinguished, and too well appreciated by his countrymen, to be confined within the limits of a single State. He was appointed, in 1820, by President Monroe, one of the commissioners under the Spanish treaty, in conjunction with Littleton W. Tazewell and Gov. King. Previous to this time his attention had been confined chiefly to the laws affecting individual rights and private property. The rights and laws of nations had little connexion with the administration of justice in an interior State; but as the sphere of his operations was widened, he was found to possess mental resources corresponding to the increased demand. With such success did he apply himself to the details of commercial, maritime, and international law, that he won the esteem and confidence of his able colleagues—men who had been experienced, and profoundly versed in the science of public law. He held this appointment until 1824, at which time the commission expired. In the same year he was again unanimously appointed a Judge of the Court of Appeals, but he declined the appointment. In 1825 General Jackson resigned his seat in the United States senate, and Hugh L. White was unanimously elected to fill out the term. In 1827 he was again unanimously elect-

ed to serve the next six years. And yet again, amidst the hottest party rancor, the legislature bestowed their undivided suffrage upon him for another term of six years, in 1835.

We are now to review the life of HUGH L. WHITE in the most important and interesting scenes of the many in which he has taken part. Hitherto we have viewed him chiefly as a jurist and a local politician. But his life and acts become now identified with national history and national interests. And from the character which he has acquired in this political capacity, from the ability and faithfulness with which he has discharged the functions of the high stations which he has occupied, must he stand or fall to the people of this nation. Twelve years ago HUGH L. WHITE brought into our national councils great weight of character. At that time he had the unlimited confidence of every party in the government. During this era of great achievements in our political history—memorable for the revolutionizing of our national policy, for the demolishing of long-established institutions, and the building up new; for bold and untried adventure in the theory and practice of government—which will distinguish this era of our political history for ages to come—during all this mighty conflict of principle, HUGH L. WHITE has been constantly upon the ground. He bore his part in them all, as friend or foe. This period is too fresh in the memory of all, and the measures too notorious to be detailed in this place. But during this comparatively short period of his public career, more weighty subjects have been discussed, more doubtful points of national policy settled, more difficulties removed from the free administration of government, more political heresies broached aud exterminated, than in any other period of American history of the same length. The whole theory of government has been subjected to an inquisition, which spared neither the ancient, nor the venerable, nor the strong, nor the weak. In the scales of justice or honesty they have all been weighed, and have found the level, or the supposed level, of their merits. Its maritime and commercial policy has been revolutionised. Its banking establishments upturned. The powers of the general government, in internal improvements and executive patronage, have been scrutinised. The origin and nature of the federal compact have been discussed with earnestness and ability; and its value has been calculated, and its fundamental principles bandied about with the familiarity of toys. With what character Judge WHITE has passed through these scenes, is known to every man in the nation.

In 1832 John C. Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and the senate was left without a presiding officer. It was

on the eve of that memorable session, when the debate upon the tariff had well-nigh severed the Union. The first talent of the nation was there congregated, and every man had arrayed himself upon one side or the other. The prize at issue was the CONSTITUTION. And the leaders of the respective divisions came armed with the resolution to carry their measures, though disunion on one side and civil war on the other were the consequence. Proud in the strength of conscious greatness, irritated by supposed aggressions or tyranny, and discordant to a degree that almost banished deliberation, they foresaw that troublous times were not far distant. It was seen that no ordinary mind could be able to curb the outbreakings of passion, and to maintain its equipoise through so doubtful a contest. In full view of all these difficulties, Judge WHITE was elected president of the senate; and how he sustained the exalted expectations of that body and the nation is now a matter of history. The firmness, impartiality, decision, and dignity with which he presided over the stormy debate, proved that no false estimate had been placed upon his character.

The intellectual character of Judge WHITE would bear a fair and honorable comparison with the first talent in the senate. As an orator, in the popular acceptation of the term, he is not so distinguished as many members in the house of Congress. He possesses little of that rich profusion of imagination which throws such a charm over the oratory of a Clay, or a Pinckney, or a Wirt. But as a reasoner and debater, he has shown strength and cogency of argument on more than one occasion, which would rank him as one of the able logicians on the floor of Congress. In the discussion upon the Panama Mission he was particularly distinguished; and the combatants in that debate were no striplings in mind and attainments. The profoundest talent in the nation, and the deepest constitutional learning, were brought to bear upon it.

One of the most powerful efforts he ever made in the senate was on the morning after he received the tidings that the hand of death had torn asunder the tenderest fibres of human affection. It was his speech on the Indian bill. This question had occasioned great embarrassment and concern to President Jackson. HUGH L. WHITE was chairman of the committee; the weight of the measure devolved upon him, and procrastination was certain defeat. But he appeared in his seat, asked no indulgence, made no apology; and, showing a fortitude worthy of his character, made one of the ablest and most successful efforts ever witnessed in that body, and carried the measure. Such lofty and honorable views of the nature and obligation of a trust, such

intense devotion to its fulfilment, have distinguished him in every station of life. This honorable and enviable fact in his history will be remembered when this generation shall have passed away.

One historical fact must not be omitted, although it is of too recent occurrence to require more than merely to be mentioned:—Judge WHITE was held up with General Harrison and Mr. Van Buren as a candidate at the last presidential election. Defeat in such a contest, to one of his cast of mind, is better than victory.

Such is a brief, and, as we believe, impartial sketch of the life and services of HUGH L. WHITE.

Engraved by T B Welch from a Painting by J Wood in possession of F S Key Esqr

JOHN RANDOLPH.

John Randolph

JOHN RANDOLPH.

The interest excited by the first appearance in public life of John Randolph continued until he had passed away from among the living, and did not die with him. His aboriginal descent, extraordinary eloquence, and independent but eccentric course through life, seemed to unite in securing to every thing he said or did, an attention on the part of his countrymen, which has been given to but few of the great American family. He was born on the 2d of June, 1773, at Matoax, the seat of his father, three miles above Petersburg, in the state of Virginia. His English ancestors were from Yorkshire, and he was descended, through his paternal grandmother Jane Bolling, in a direct line from the celebrated Pocahontas. Like Sir Walter Scott, and other celebrated men, he appears, from his own account, prepared in 1813 for a nephew who was desirous to "know something of his life," to have received a very irregular education. He was sent to a country school at an early age, where he learned the rudiments of the Latin language, and had mastered the Greek grammar *perfectly*, when the state of his health induced his mother to send him to Bermuda, where he remained more than a year, losing all his Greek, but reading with great avidity many of the best English authors. After his return to the United States, he was sent, with his brother Theodorick, to Princeton college, where they entered the grammar school in March, 1787. He there attracted the attention of Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, the president of the college, who thought that he found, in the Indian descent of his pupil, some support to a theory, which he gave to the world in an Essay more remarkable for its ingenuity than its accurate statement of facts. In the year 1788, after the death of his mother, he was sent to college in New York, but returned to Virginia in the summer of 1790; and in the autumn of that year came to Philadelphia, with the view of studying law under the direction of Edmund Randolph, then recently appointed attorney-general of the United States. Beyond *almost* the first book of Blackstone, he seems to have done nothing

towards being admitted to the bar; and from that time till June, 1794, when he became of age, he appears to have led an irregular, desultory life, with scarcely a fixed residence, and no decided object of pursuit.

His reading, according to his own account given to a relative at a later period of his life, is so indicative of the man that any attempt to portray him would be defective without it. "I think you have never read Chaucer. Indeed, I have sometimes blamed myself for not cultivating your imagination when you were young. It is a dangerous quality, however, for the possessor. But if from my life were to be taken the pleasure derived from that faculty, very little would remain. Shakspeare and Milton, and Chaucer and Spencer, and Plutarch, and the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and Don Quixote, and Gil Blas, and Tom Jones, and Gulliver, and Robinson Crusoe, 'and the tale of Troy divine,' have made up more than half my worldly enjoyment. To these ought to be added Ovid's Metamorphoses, Ariosto, Dryden, Beaumont and Fletcher, Southern, Otway, Pope's Rape and Eloisa, Addison, Young, Thomson, Gay, Goldsmith, Gray, Collins, Sheridan, Cowper, Byron, Æsop, La Fontaine, Voltaire's Charles XII, Mahomet and Zaire, Rousseau's Julie, Schiller, Madame de Stael—but above all, Burke. One of the first books I ever read was Voltaire's Charles XII; about the same time, 1780—1, I read the Spectator, and used to steal away to the closet containing them. The letters from his correspondents were my favorites. I read Humphry Clinker also, that is Win's and Tabby's letters, with great delight; for I could spell at that age pretty correctly. Reynard the Fox, came next, I think; then Tales of the Genii and Arabian Nights. This last, and Shakspeare, were my idols. I had read them, with Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Pope's Homer, Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver, Tom Jones, Orlando Furioso, and Thomson's Seasons, before I was eleven years of age; also Goldsmith's Roman History, 2 vols. 8vo., and an old history of Braddock's War. At about eleven, (1784—5,) Percy's Reliques and Chaucer became great favorites, and Chatterton and Rowley. I then read Young and Gay, &c. Goldsmith I never saw till 1787."*

In 1799, he made his first appearance in public life as a candidate for a seat in congress, and was elected. He owed his success

* Letters to Dudley, p. 190.

to his eloquence alone; for he possessed neither family influence nor connexion in the district, and was a mere boy in appearance. The all-absorbing political questions arising out of Mr Madison's celebrated Virginia Resolutions of 1798, of which Mr RANDOLPH was a strenuous supporter, were then deeply agitating the country. Patrick Henry, accused of having abandoned his early principles, appeared at the same time, and for the last time in his life, as a candidate for the assembly, avowedly in opposition to the resolutions; for he approved of the alien and sedition laws as good measures. This state of affairs brought these two remarkable men before the people in mutual opposition; and tradition has handed down to us an anecdote characteristic of both. Mr. RANDOLPH was addressing the people in answer to Colonel Henry, when a countryman said to the latter, "Come, colonel, let us go—it is not worth while to listen to *that boy*." "Stay, my friend," replied the veteran statesman, "there is an old man's head on that boy's shoulders."

Mr. RANDOLPH found the party whose measures he supported in the minority when he entered congress. His fearless course, ready, sarcastic wit, and general power as a public speaker, soon placed him among the most distinguished of the opponents of the administration then in power, and attracted the attention and admiration of the party against which they were exerted, as well as of that of which he soon became the leader. The records of his exertions are widely spread and scanty, and he pronounced most of the sketches of his speeches to be inaccurate.* No collection of American speeches, however, has been deemed complete without some of them; and, imperfectly as they have come to us, the impress of genius is upon them all.

With the party which supported the administration of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. RANDOLPH, after a time, found himself in the majority, and he was for several sessions chairman of the committee of ways and means. It has been suggested, that *with* the majority his efforts were less propitious to his reputation than those which arose from the excitement of opposition; that business habits and discipline of mind were wanting; and that the position of assailant best suited his peculiar disposition, and was his true element. In 1806, he

* "The least inaccurate sketches of my speeches will be found in the 'Spirit of '76,' but they are extremely imperfect."—*Letters to Dudley*, p. 116.

joined the opposition, and is said to have declared that his own opposition to the then administration would be "perpetual." The journals indeed, of the house, from the period we have mentioned, exhibit him in the character of its industrious assailant; and the warfare which he carried on against it, in the shape of calls for information, in relation to the well known allegations against General Wilkinson, will be long remembered.

About this period of his life a change came over him, the cause of which even his friends could not understand; he became moody, morose, capricious, suspicious of his friends, sarcastic and bitter towards those he loved best, and a riddle to all around him. This state of things was explained at last, in 1811, by a paroxysm of insanity, attributable to the ill health to which he had been subject almost from the time he arrived at manhood, and of which he seems to have had some lurking consciousness himself.* Of this malady he had frequent returns during his lifetime;† but upon political subjects his mind was clear; and many of his constituents seemed to think of him as the Mohammedans do of madmen, that on such subjects, at least, he was inspired, and they might commit their interests to his charge with safety. It will not be difficult to account, after what has been just stated, for the numerous instances of eccentricity which were made known to the world through every medium, and were used as materials for every sort of attack upon his principles and person.

On the 27th of February, 1808, Mr. Randolph united with his friend Joseph Clay, and fifteen other members of congress, in a protest against the nomination of Mr. Madison for the presidency. This proceeding, which may be considered as a declaration of war upon the administration which was to follow the nomination, gave an earnest of what his course would be; and he was true to the declaration. His speech on the 10th of December, 1811, was directed against the raising of an addition to the army, and against the war against Great Britain, which he saw approaching; and was strongly marked by the *Anglo-mania* which seems afterwards to have attended him to his last hour. He followed up his speech of the 10th of December, 1811, by moving a resolution, "that the

* Speech of the 10th of December, 1811, in the house of representatives, on the second resolution of the committee of foreign relations, "that an additional force of ten thousand men ought to be raised," &c.

† Letters to Dudley, p. 203, August, 1818.

president of the United States be authorized to employ the regular army of the United States when not engaged in actual service, and when in his judgment the public interest will not be thereby injured, in the construction of roads, canals, or other works of public utility." This resolution he supported in a few but very pungent remarks, which, however, brought to his aid but fourteen votes; the resolution, on the question being taken on its passage, being negatived by one hundred and two members voting against, and fifteen for it.

To the declaration of war itself he opposed all possible resistance. On the 29th of May, 1812, he offered a resolution, "That under existing circumstances it is inexpedient to resort to war against Great Britain." The remarks with which Mr. RANDOLPH prefaced the introduction of this resolution led to an angry debate, principally upon the various questions of order which arose out of the subject matter of the remarks, produced difficulty between him and the speaker, Mr. Clay, whose decision against him on the points of order was sustained by the house. The prefatory remarks to which we have alluded, involved the then existing state of the public relations of the United States with France and Great Britain, exhibiting a strong leaning against the former, and which, after he had spoken about an hour and a half, were decided to be out of order, because a member was bound to submit his motion to the house previously to debating so much at large. Mr. RANDOLPH chose to consider the decision as an "invention for stifling debate;" and he addressed, on the 30th of May 1812, an appeal to his constituents, the freeholders of Charlotte, Prince Edward, Buckingham, and Cumberland, which we give as affording the best specimen of his peculiar views and mode of reasoning, at the period of its publication.

To the Freeholders of Charlotte, Prince Edward, Buckingham, and Cumberland.

FELLOW CITIZENS.—I dedicate to you the following fragment. That it appears in its present mutilated shape, is to be ascribed to the successful usurpation which has reduced the freedom of speech, in one branch of the American congress, to an empty name. It is now established *for the first time, and in the person of your representative,* that the house may, and will refuse to hear a member in his place, or even to receive a motion from him upon the most momentous subject that can be presented for legislative decision. A similar motion was brought forward by the republican minority in the year 1798,* before these modern inventions for stifling freedom of debate were discovered. It was discussed as a matter of *right,* until it was abandoned by the mover in consequence of additional informa-

* This motion was drawn, it is believed, by Mr. Gallatin, but moved by Mr. Sprigg, declaring it to be inexpedient at that time to resort to war against the French republic.

tion (the correspondence of our envoy at Paris) laid before congress by the president. In the "reign of terror," the father of the sedition law had not the hardihood to proscribe the liberty of speech, much less the right of free debate on the floor of congress. This invasion of the public liberties was reserved for self-styled republicans, who hold your understandings in such contempt, as to flatter themselves that you will overlook their every outrage upon the great first principles of free government, in consideration of their professions of tender regard for the privileges of the people.

It is for you to decide whether they have formed a just estimate of your character. You do not require to be told that the violation of the rights of him whom you have deputed to represent you is an invasion of the rights of every man of you, of every individual in society If this abuse be suffered to pass unredressed—and the people alone are competent to apply the remedy—we must bid adieu to a free form of government for ever!

Having learned from various sources that a declaration of war would be attempted on Monday next, *with closed doors*, I deemed it my duty to endeavor, by an exercise of my constitutional functions, to arrest this heaviest of all possible calamities and avert it from our happy country. I accordingly made the effort of which I now give you the result, and of the success of which you will already have been informed before these pages can reach you. I pretend only to give you the substance of my unfinished argument.

The glowing words—the language of the heart—have passed away with the occasion that called them forth. They are no longer under my control. My design is simply to submit to you the views which have induced me to consider a war with England, under existing circumstances, as comporting neither with the INTEREST nor the HONOR of the American people, but as an *idolatrous sacrifice of both*, on the altar of FRENCH RAPACITY, PERFIDY, AND AMBITION!

France has for years past offered us terms of undefined commercial arrangement, as the price of a war with England, which hitherto we have not wanted firmness and virtue to reject. That price is now to be paid. We are tired of holding out, and following the example of the nations of continental Europe; entangled in the artifices, or awed by the power of the destroyer of mankind, we are prepared to become instrumental to his projects of universal dominion. *Before these pages meet your eye, the last republic of the earth will have enlisted under the banners of the tyrant, and become a party to his cause.* The blood of the American freemen must flow to cement his power, to aid in stifling the last struggles of afflicted and persecuted man; to deliver up into his hands the patriots of Spain and Portugal, to establish his empire over the ocean and over the land that gave our forefathers birth; to forge our own chains! And yet, my friends, we are told, as we were told in the days of Mr. Adams, "*the finger of Heaven points to war.*" Yes the finger of Heaven DOES point to war. It points to war, as it points to the mansions of eternal misery and torture; as a flaming beacon warning us of that vortex which we may not approach but with certain destruction. It points to desolated Europe, and warns us of the chastisement of those nations who have offended against the justice and almost beyond the mercy of Heaven. It announces the wrath to come upon those, who, ungrateful for the bounty of Providence, not satisfied with the peace, liberty, security, and plenty at home, fly, as it were, into the face of the Most High, and tempt his forbearance.

To you, *in this place*, I can speak with freedom, and it becomes me to do so: nor shall I be deterred by the cavils and the sneers of those who hold as "foolishness" all that savors not of worldly wisdom, from expressing fully and freely those sentiments which it has pleased God, in his mercy, to engrave upon my heart.

These are no ordinary times. The state of the world is unexampled; the war of the present day is not like that of our Revolution, or any which preceded it, at least in modern times. It is a war against the liberty and happiness of mankind. It is a war in which the

whole human race are the victims, to gratify the pride and lust of power of a single individual. I beseech you, put it to your own bosoms, how far it becomes you as freemen, as Christians, to give your aid and sanction to this impious and bloody warfare against your brethren of the human family. To such among you, if any such there be, who are insensible to motives not more dignified and manly than they are intrinsically wise, I would make a different appeal. I adjure you by the regard you have for your own security and property, for the liberty and inheritance of your children, by all that you hold dear and sacred, to interpose your constitutional powers to save your country and yourselves from the calamity, the issue of which it is not given to human foresight to divine.

Ask yourselves if you are willing to become the virtual allies of Bonaparte? Are you willing for the sake of annexing Canada to the northern states, to submit to that overgrowing system of taxation, which sends the European labourer supperless to bed? To maintain by the sweat of your brow, armies at whose hands you are to receive a future master? Suppose Canada ours; is there any one among you who would ever be, in any respect, the better for it? the richer—the freer—the happier—the more secure? And is it for a boon like this, that you would join in the warfare against the liberties of man in the other hemisphere, and put your own in jeopardy? Or is it for the *nominal* privilege of a licensed trade with France, that you would abandon your lucrative commerce with Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, and their Asiatic, African, and American dependencies? In a word, with every region of those vast continents. That commerce which gives vent to your tobacco, grain, flour, cotton, in short, to all your native products, which are denied a market in France!

There are not wanting men so weak as to suppose that their approbation of warlike measures is a proof of personal gallantry, and that opposition to them indicates a want of that spirit which becomes a friend to his country; as if it required more courage and patriotism to join in the acclamation of the day, than steadily to oppose one's self to the mad infatuation to which every people and all governments have, at some time or other, given way. Let the history of Phocion, of Agis, and of the De Witts, answer this question. My friends, do you expect to find those who are *now* loudest in the clamor for war, foremost in the ranks of battle? Or is the honor of this nation indissolubly connected with the political reputation of a few individuals who tell you *they* have gone too far to recede, and that you must pay, with *your ruin*, the price of *their consistency?* My friends, I have discharged my duty towards you; lamely and inadequate I know, but to the best of my poor ability. The destiny of the American people is in their own hands. The net is spread for their destruction. You are enveloped in the toils of French duplicity; and if, which may Heaven in its mercy forbid, you and your posterity are to become hewers of wood and drawers of water, to the modern Pharaoh, it shall not be for the want of my best exertions to rescue you from the cruel and abject bondage. This sin, at least, shall not rest upon my soul.

JOHN RANDOLPH *of Roanoke.*

May 30*th*, 1812.

This appeal drew, on the 17th of June, 1812, from Mr. Clay, then speaker of the house of representatives, an answer addressed to the editor of the National Intelligencer,* the insertion of which is not

* Niles' Weekly Register, vol. ii, p. 266.

within the views or limits of this sketch, but which, though nearly twenty years have diminished the interest of the occurrence to which it relates, may still be read with pleasure and advantage.

The health of Mr. Randolph was seriously affected in the year 1811; and he seems never to have recovered entirely from the effects of the attack which he then experienced; his life, subsequently, seems to have been "one long disease."* The idea of a restoration from change of air and scene, induced him to visit England in 1822. Of England, Ireland, and Scotland, he possessed, previously to having been there, the most minute and accurate local knowledge, derived, as he himself asserted, from books and conversation aided by a very retentive memory, and he sometimes amused himself not a little at the surprise it created. The attention he attracted upon his first appearance in London was very great, and many characteristic anecdotes of him reached this country. He went again to England in the spring of 1824, with the same hope of improving his health which led to his former voyage, and returned to the United States in the autumn of the same year. Disease, however, had taken such firm hold of him, that his subsequent public life received constant interruptions from its visitations.

In June, 1830, Mr. Randolph was appointed, by president Jackson, minister to Russia upon the recall of Mr. Middleton. He sailed shortly after his appointment, and arrived in London in July, from whence he reached St. Petersburg in September following. His stay in Russia was very short; the severity of the climate was ill adapted to the state of extreme infirmity under which he was suffering, and he returned to London, where, on the 26th of December, 1830, he delivered a speech at the lord mayor's dinner. Many rumors of the extraordinary conduct and behavior of the minister of the United States at the court of St. Petersburg reached this country soon after Mr. Randolph's arrival in Russia, were made public, and were seized upon with that avidity which affords such stringent proof of the predominance in human nature to enjoy whatever renders our neighbor less in general estimation. Mr. John Randolph Clay, the son of his old friend, who accompanied him as secretary of legation, deemed it right to repel the attacks which were made upon the strength of these rumors, by the publication of a letter, dated at St. Petersburg on the 17th of January, 1831, in

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* Letters to Dudley, *passim*.

which he asserted, distinctly, that the statements which had been given to the public on the subject of Mr. RANDOLPH's behavior and conduct, had no foundation in truth. The appointment of Mr. RANDOLPH called forth innumerable attacks upon the president, and upon himself; the most vehement of which were founded upon the allegation that he received the outfit, when he knew he could not discharge the duty of a minister; and an imposing parade of figures was made* upon the subject of the cost to the country of his mission. He returned to America in October, 1831, in a state of extreme exhaustion and weakness.

The tariff or "American system," as it has been sometimes termed, met with the most distinct opposition from Mr. RANDOLPH. He seems to have held the doctrine, that the manufacturing interests were never, in any country, satisfied with the extent of the legislative protection granted to them; and he insisted that the tariff system was one which must end in the utter subversion of the rights of the states generally, and that it would be impossible for the slave-holding states to submit long to its oppression. His views are set forth in a letter dated November 22d, 1832, which he addressed to a writer in the Richmond Enquirer under the signature of a "Friend to Truth."

On the 20th of May, 1833, Mr. RANDOLPH arrived in Philadelphia, on his way to New York, where he intended to embark for Europe, again to try the effect of a voyage. He was in the last stage of a pulmonary disease; and, after lingering three days, he died at the City Hotel in Third street.

Few individuals of modern times have attracted more notice in their own country than JOHN RANDOLPH; but it may be long before his true history and character will be portrayed; before the division of his life into periods shall furnish the materials even for a proper estimate of his views, feelings, and powers. It is conceded that among the orators of his own land, he was a star of the first magnitude, but that his aberrations rendered his lustre worse than useless. He drew an attentive audience together in congress more certainly than any other speaker; his sayings, in which the manner and occasion was often more than the matter, were in every man's mouth, and his fame extended throughout the union. But it has been said,

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* Niles' Weekly Register, September 24th, 1831, p. 69, where the amount is stated at 107,000 dollars.

that, while this was the case, he was brilliant, and nothing more; that he wanted sound, efficient sense, and useful knowledge, and was thus deficient in the most essential qualifications for the station he held in the councils of his country; that, like Cassandra, he was listened to, but never heeded; and was a living example that talent without wisdom leads to nothing. That with all the fame acquired by his eloquence, he was without any real influence, and that while assemblages were gathered together whenever he delivered one of his brilliant harangues, no man set the smallest value upon his opinion. It has been peremptorily denied that he was a statesman; though his career has exhibited him always in the front rank of whatever party he chose to ally himself to, his efforts have been deemed as injurious to his political friends as to their adversaries; and that his whole life was an exhibition of the futility of a mere man of genius, whose career was signalized by words, but left no deeds or great public acts to perpetuate his memory. Let us hope, however, that one day some one from among those who knew him best, may give us the truth in regard to one of the most remarkable of men, whose race was run, and whose voice was loudest in the council of the nation during some of the most difficult periods of existence; it seems almost impossible that such great and general interest and curiosity should have been excited by a mere talker, and that after a long and active life devoted almost exclusively to public affairs, he should have been gathered to his fathers having achieved nothing.

Engraved by J. B. Longacre from a miniature by A. Duval

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE

William C. C. Claiborne

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On the 20th December, 1803, the beautiful, rich, and extensive region of Louisiana, having been ceded to the United States by France, was formally surrendered to the republic. The American commissioner on this occasion was invested with the title and powers of intendant and governor-general of the province, as exercised under the former French and Spanish dominion. To him was conferred almost unbounded authority; upon him rested the delicate task of reconciling to a new dominion, and organizing into a new government, a people long inured to forms and usages entirely different. Though yet but in the spring of life, no man could have exercised the former with greater mildness and moderation, none could have performed the latter with more judgment and ability. When he came, followed by a gallant band of Americans, to unfurl the banner of his country over its new territories, all were pleased with the blandness of his manners and the beauty of his person; all were astonished to see so young a man invested with so high a trust: but the subsequent virtue and wisdom of his measures during a long and tempestuous administration of thirteen years, excited the love and admiration of all, and have left in the memory of his countrymen of Louisiana a monument more lasting than the marble which they have consecrated to his virtues. The American who in this high station thus did honor to himself, and to the judgment of the distinguished statesman who appointed him, was William Charles Cole Claiborne, the subject of the present memoir.

Governor Claiborne was born in Virginia, of a family who had been settled in that state for nearly two hundred years. When the revolution broke out, it is believed that without an exception his family took the side of the people against arbitrary government, and continued their efforts, in common with their countrymen, until the glorious result of the contest. The subject of our sketch was at the close of the revo-

lution a mere child, and hence could not have been an actor in it; but he soon learned to appreciate the magnitude of the task our fathers had accomplished, and the perils through which it was achieved. His own father had shared its toils, and it was the custom of the old gentleman, in his retreat, to recount to his children the exploits of the American soldiers, the hardships they had encountered, the battles they had fought, and the victories won. All was painted in glowing colors, even to the horrors of the prison-ships, and the brutality of the British soldiery, who were often guilty of horrible atrocities. Endowed with some learning, a fine imagination, and an eloquence bold and expressive, he thus early impressed on the minds of his sons an invincible attachment to free government; a determination, when necessary, to lift their arms in its defence; and an abhorrence for whoever would raise a parricidal hand upon the fair fabric of American liberty. Mr. Claiborne, however, could leave no inheritance to his children, but education and this warm patriotism which he so early inspired; youthful indiscretions in part, but principally an honorable zeal in the service of his country, had dispersed the wealth which he had inherited from his fathers. Thus the principles of WILLIAM, the second of his four sons, may be said to have been fixed when he was yet only eight years of age; they were then, what they remained through life, eminently republican. At that early age he excited the admiration of Mr. Eldridge Harris, the worthy president of the Richmond academy, when he saw this motto which his scholar WILLIAM had written in his Latin grammar, "Cara patria, carior libertas; ubi est libertas, ibi est mea patria."

Young CLAIBORNE having spent a short time at the college of William and Mary, which he left on account of improper conduct of one of the ushers towards him, returned to the Richmond academy, and there acquired a thorough knowledge of his own, with the Latin and Greek languages, and the most important branches of the mathematics. While at school, he learned with great facility, and was universally esteemed and beloved by his professors and fellow students. At the age of fifteen, he was apprized that for his future establishment in life he had to depend entirely upon his own exertions; he determined, therefore, on his course, and carried it into immediate execution. He told his father he knew very well he could do nothing more for his children than educate them; that he had resolved on his course, and with his permission would enter upon it forthwith. "I," said he, "have some acquaintance with Mr. Beckley, clerk to congress; I will go to New York, and endeavor to get employment in his office: if I succeed,

my fortune is secured; if I fail with him, my education will recommend me elsewhere, and in as thriving a place as New York, I can surely do something to support me. All I ask is a small addition to my stock of clothes, and my passage paid to New York." The manly firmness with which he addressed these words to his father, the confidence which they implied in his abilities, virtue, and energy, excited the old man's admiration; he gazed with rapture on his enterprising son, and the plan was acceded to. Being now fixed in his resolution, Mr. CLAIBORNE left school, having first delivered a valedictory address to the professors and students. Previous to the delivery of this address, he had submitted it to the inspection of a learned judge, whose corrections he solicited; the next day it was returned with one or two immaterial alterations, and a note from the judge, which told his young friend "to continue moral and industrious, and he would become useful and celebrated; his path, with the blessings of Providence, would be strewed with roses, and lighted by the sun of true glory."

Thus encouraged, and fortified by a moral and solid education, with a mind embellished with stores of Grecian and Roman literature, with manners urbane, a tall and manly form, and a face uncommonly beautiful, Mr. CLAIBORNE, not yet sixteen years of age, bade farewell to his family, and took his departure from Richmond in a sloop bound to New York. He was kindly received by Mr. Beckley, who gave him immediate employment in his office. The business which devolved on him, consisted in copying bills and resolutions of congress, and drawing original bills for members and committees of that body. These duties giving occupation to only half of his time, a portion of each day was devoted to reading political works of merit, attending to the debates of congress, and learning the French language. His evenings were almost invariably consecrated to the ladies, to whose society he was devoted through life. To Mr. Beckley he gave entire satisfaction, and subsequently repaid all the favors he had received at his hands. Congress soon removed to Philadelphia, and hither Mr. CLAIBORNE went. Soon after his arrival in that city, he became acquainted with Vice President Adams, and Mr. Jefferson, then secretary of state. By both these gentlemen, he was treated with great kindness: he afterwards proved his gratitude to both. Hitherto, Mr. CLAIBORNE had not fixed on any profession on which to depend for his future establishment in life; he had thought of the navy, the army: his dreams were sometimes golden, and he had even hoped to rise in the ranks of diplomacy. The bar had not yet presented itself to his mind in a tempting light; inconsiderable circumstances, however, have some-

times a decisive influence on the destiny of man; Mr. C. had for some time been a member of a polemic society, at which were discussed such questions as from time to time agitated the public mind. At last a question was proposed for discussion which Mr. C. had deeply reflected on; he determined, therefore, to enter the lists, and try himself at a public speech. He had now entered his eighteenth year; we have told the reader that his person was fine, his pronunciation was also distinct, accurate, and well-disciplined, and his tones of voice admirably adapted to public disputation: to these advantages he superadded, without being himself conscious of it, that grace of gesture which generally belongs to youth, beauty, and innocence. The success of the effort he made on this occasion was surprising; it elicited from a crowded audience reiterated bursts of approbation, and an enlightened member of congress who was present, declared "it shivered to atoms the arguments of his opponents, and bore off the uncontested prize of superior eloquence." The success of this effort gave an additional stimulus to his rising hopes, and he determined to enter on the practice of the law.

It should have been mentioned that Mr. Claiborne had become intimately acquainted with General John Sevier, then a delegate in congress from the territory, and afterwards governor of the state of Tennessee. A friendship grew up between them which continued unimpaired during their lives, and of all the benefactors Mr. Claiborne met with in the beginning of his career, there was none like this distinguished man, in the number and greatness of his favors. General Sevier had frequently advised Mr. C. to settle in the territory south-west of the Ohio; he stated the opening then was there for a lawyer, augured that his success would be great, and tendered his assistance and friendship. These flattering assurances determined his young friend. He accordingly gave Mr. Beckley notice that he intended to leave him as soon as another clerk could be procured, and in a short time took an affectionate leave of this good friend to repair to Richmond, where he remained three months. "During this stay in Richmond," says his brother, the Hon. Nathaniel Claiborne, "he was devoted almost entirely to the society of the ladies, and I have heard him repeatedly say, he had in that time been enabled to read only through the revised code, and a few chapters in the first volume of Blackstone's Commentaries. With this *dispreparation*, as he humorously called it, he was an applicant for a license, and, strange as it may seem, he passed with great credit, as I have been assured by a gentleman who was examined and licensed at the same time. This my

brother attributed to the polemic society in Philadelphia, which he considered at the time one of the best law schools in the union. Here he had acquired that general and enlarged view of natural, national, and municipal law, without labor and without expense, which years of study could not have afforded."

The object in getting a license in Virginia, was to enable him the more readily to obtain admittance to the territorial bar; without license in another state, a probationary residence was required. And now bidding adieu to the scenes of his youth, and the charms of large cities, he directed his steps to Sullivan county in the now state of Tennessee, and entered on the practice of the law. He continued at the bar, however, only two years, and his success in this short period was equal to that of any lawyer who ever went before him. No cause of moment and expectation occurred in a court where he practised, in which he was not employed. He was frequently sent for to the neighboring court in Virginia; and he commenced his career by receiving a fee of five hundred dollars, with his expenses paid, for coming to Virginia to defend a man on a charge of murder. At another time, he went two hundred miles to argue a case, in the decision of which was involved property to an immense amount, on the promise of a fee so large, that Mr. C. refused to receive it, although the cause was gained, and took only an elegant horse in lieu thereof. Instead of devoting, as heretofore, much of his time to gay amusements, he was now occupied with his books, and had already raised himself to the first rank in his profession; as an advocate in a criminal case, it is said he stood unrivalled. Juries have been often dissolved in tears, and enlightened tribunals have been deeply moved by his touching eloquence. He now determined to move back to Richmond, and enter on the practice of the law there. "My brother," says Mr. Nathaniel Claiborne, "had a quickness of comprehension, a goodness of heart, and a laudable ambition to be distinguished, in a degree we rarely meet with; but unfortunately he was constitutionally lazy, and when we see him marching with giant strides to eminence in his profession, we are constrained to acknowledge that he was urged on by the joint influence of virtuous ambition and hard necessity. He was attached to Virginia, and had left it with regret. The very trees that had shaded him from the summer heat were to him objects of veneration; these, were the beautiful seats of his early ancestors: they have long since passed into other hands, but the everlasting marble records the names of the first proprietors. There he had received his earliest instruction, and enjoyed the society of friends who loved him. The determination of

my brother to return was heard by the family with enthusiastic plea sure, and as the pressure on him for exertion would be greater, those who knew the powers of his mind were convinced that he must succeed."

An occurrence now took place which caused the resolution to remove to Richmond to be abandoned. The population of the territory having been ascertained to amount to seventy-five thousand, they demanded admission into the union, and a convention was called to form a state constitution. Mr. CLAIBORNE was proposed and elected one of the five members for Sullivan county.

In the convention which soon after assembled, he appeared to great advantage. It was an enlightened body, and the constitution that issued from their hands is based upon the truest principles of liberty; in the formation of this constitution, WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE had a principal agency. The education he had received, the books he had read, the political circles he had frequented, all conspired to give him an imposing stand. He now stood for the first time before a whole state, and the goodness of his heart and the magnitude of the object, united to bring into action all the powers of his mind. His merit was universally acknowledged. Governor Blount declared, that making the necessary allowance for his youth, he was the most extraordinary man he had met with, and that if he lived to attain the age of fifty, nothing but prejudice could prevent his becoming one of the most distinguished political characters in America. In the convention of Ten nessee, he began his political career, and without intermission he was thereafter in public life. General Sevier was elected governor of the new state of Tennessee, and among his first acts was the appointment of Mr. CLAIBORNE as a judge of the supreme court of law and equity of the state. Mr. CLAIBORNE was urged by his friends not to accept; but in vain. "My motto," said he, "is honor and not money; Governor Sevier is my friend, and if I can, I am bound to aid his administration." At the time of his appointment to a judgeship, and that too in the highest tribunal in the state, he was not *twenty-two* years of age. He continued but a short time in this office, when a vacancy occurring in the house of representatives of the United States, at the solicitation of several gentlemen who had served with him in the convention, he resigned his seat on the bench and became a candidate for congress. He was elected by an immense majority over his opponent, who was a man of talent, of great wealth, and extensive connections. A few days after his election to congress, Mr. CLAIBORNE entered his twenty-third year. This astonishing and rapid promotion becomes still more

surprising, when we consider that he had but recently come into the district, that he was poor, and had not the advantage of any kindred blood, even in the most remote degree, in the state of Tennessee. During the first congress that Mr. CLAIBORNE sat in, he participated little in debate, but enough to show that he was an acquisition to the republican party. On the bill providing for the military establishment, however, the talents of the house were brought out, and the strength of parties put to trial. On this occasion, Mr. CLAIBORNE delivered his sentiments; his speech was adorned with the choicest flowers of ancient and modern literature; it showed a heart deeply convinced, and earnestly engaged in convincing others; and if it discovered on its face less labor than other speeches bespoke, it was exempt from the venom which conflicting political prejudices had on this occasion developed: and the spirit of benevolence which it breathed, with the classic purity of the style, recommended it to general attention. A listener thus described it: "It seemed to be a spontaneous effort, the object was to persuade and convince, not to surprise; it had passion and feeling in every sentence, but it was the passion of the heart; satisfied he was right, he was bent on the conviction of others. So earnest was Mr. C., that he forced himself on the affection of the most indifferent, and excited the enthusiastic admiration of his friends: though he was zealous, it was without bustle; he was ardent, but not acrimonious; and if he fell short of some of the veterans who preceded him, you were loath to make the admission, while you reflected that he was the youngest man who had ever appeared on the floor of congress."

The constitution had not required that the electors should designate on their tickets the person they voted for as president, and the one voted for as vice president, but simply that they should give their votes for two persons; that the one having the highest number of votes should be president, and the one having the next highest should be vice president. Now it so happened, that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr had an equal number of votes, and it devolved on the house of representatives to decide which of them should be president, the choice to be made by ballot, and each state in the union to have but one vote. The contest was extremely animated, for on this occasion the great federal and republican parties came into violent conflict. It was clear that Jefferson had been voted for as president, and Burr, vice president; they had been so nominated before the election, and in every vote given for the two, Jefferson was first named; when, therefore, it was understood that they were returned with an equal number of votes to the house of representatives, it was supposed of course that the public

voice would be obeyed, and Jefferson made president. The federal party, however, determined to support Colonel Burr; they knew very well the political sentiments of every member of the house of representatives, and they early ascertained that the election depended on the vote of Mr. CLAIBORNE, the sole representative from the state of Tennessee. Mr. C., who, on this occasion had been reëlected to congress, was young and aspiring; the federal party knew, too, that he was poor. They flattered themselves that his vote might be secured, and indirectly proffered various temptations to obtain it. But Mr. CLAIBORNE was too firm to be brought over: he knew the public voice, and thought it honorable and proper to obey it. The day at last arrived, when this great question of the presidency was to be decided, and the states were equally divided on the first ballot; several other ballots took place, and the result was the same, when the house adjourned. The news spread through the union like fire, and everywhere produced the liveliest sensation. The importance of Mr. CLAIBORNE's vote was so well understood, that he went armed to the house; for what might occur from the extraordinary excitement that prevailed, no one could foresee: rumors were even afloat that the parties in the country were beginning to arm.

For several days, congress, and the country around, were a scene of terrible confusion: thirty-six ballots had been had, and the result was the same; an equality of votes for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr. On every ballot, Mr. CLAIBORNE had voted for Jefferson, and declared that as he felt satisfied that that gentleman was the choice of the people, he was determined to adhere to him, let the consequences be what they would. On the thirty-seventh ballot, the state of Vermont, that had hitherto voted for Colonel Burr, threw in a blank ballot, and Jefferson was elected. Mr. C. did what he considered his duty with a determined mind, and to his vote was owing, in a great measure, the result of this important contest.

Mr. CLAIBORNE remained but a short time after this in congress. A serious misunderstanding having arisen between the people of the Mississippi territory and their then governor, many distinguished individuals of that country signified a wish for the appointment of Mr. C. as their governor, and, in conformity therewith, he received and accepted an appointment to that office in 1801, from President Jefferson.

Mr. CLAIBORNE proceeded to his new government with all possible despatch. He reached the beautiful hills of Natchez on the 23d of November, where he was received with enthusiasm, and he immediately entered with zeal upon the duties of his charge.

On his arrival, he had found the infant community over which he was to preside torn by local dissensions and personal animosities; by these different factions he was hailed with gladness, each hoping to make of him the instrument of separate views or private vengeance; but he repelled all such attempts with firmness, though mildly, and taking sides with none, he made it his duty to hear all parties: to sooth and conciliate all, but to act for himself, with independence, impartiality, and justice.

Mr. CLAIBORNE had lately married Miss Eliza Lewis, of Nashville. She was tall and graceful, with perfect symmetry of feature, and her wealthy and indulgent parents had early procured for her those advantages of education that add new charms to the female character. Thus blessed with the affections of an amiable wife, in possession of an independent fortune, and without an enemy on earth, Mr. C. spent two years most happily as governor of the Mississippi territory; and how far he enjoyed the love and confidence of the people during this period, may be seen by the following address, which he received after he had repaired to New Orleans, on a mission of still higher importance.

"*To His Excellency* WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE, *governor of the Mississippi territory, exercising the powers of governor-general and intendant of the province of Louisiana:*

"The exertions of a public officer to confer happiness on the community by dispensing equal and impartial justice, and preserving unimpaired the constitutional liberties of the people, deserve the return of grateful acknowledgments. The citizens of Washington and its vicinity, therefore, pray your excellency to accept their undivided approbation of the firm and dignified measures of your late administration in this territory. If integrity of conduct, united to an enlightened mind filled with benevolence and universal philanthropy, are worthy of eulogium, *all* that those virtues merit we offer you as a just tribute.

"We congratulate your excellency on the unanimity and harmony with which the American government is received by our new fellow-citizens of Louisiana; this great and interesting event cannot fail to exhibit 'the fairest page in the volume of faithful history;' and the high characters who so ably managed the negotiation, from its commencement to the ever memorable surrender on the 20th day of December last, will share the warmest affection of the American people.

"On this auspicious occasion, we reflect with honest pride and exultation, that in discharging the highest trust and confidence reposed in your excellency by the president of the United States, nothing has appeared repugnant to the principles of inflexible justice, mingled with humanity. We earnestly desire the return of your excellency to the Mississippi territory. We anticipate no change by which we can gain either a better friend, or a more patriotic governor; but should the general government require your aid in another quarter, we tender you this pledge of undissembled friendship, and a sincere wish that you may ever continue to merit and obtain the confidence of your country."

In this conspicuous station, the highest in the gift of the general government, and to discharge which required judgment, prudence, and ability, far beyond the lot of ordinary men, Mr. CLAIBORNE had a diffi-

cult and perplexing task to perform. He had found the province of Louisiana in some parts almost fallen into anarchy, and throughout the administration every thing to reform or reorganize. Government had scarcely a nerve not wounded by corruption, and the business in every department was wrapped in mystery and intrigue, and had been left in confusion often inexplicable. Under the last Spanish governor, not only many posts of honor and profit in his gift were sold, but even when exercising the sacred character of a judge, he often vended his decisions to the highest bidder. Such being the character of the head, it is not surprising that the same depravities pervaded every branch of the system. The Louisianians, however, were a well-disposed and generous people; the greater part gave a cheerful and sincere welcome to the American government and its new institutions; but generally their defect of education, which had been the policy of their former rulers, their ignorance of the English language, and especially of political affairs, rendered them credulous, and often liable to become dupes to the machinations of individuals, who for their own ends are ever busy in exciting discontent in the public mind.

Thus Governor Claiborne soon had to contend against the most unprincipled intrigues and factions, directed principally by some of his own ambitious countrymen, who had emigrated to the new territory, and who, envious of his authority and high station, used every means to thwart his administration, and to destroy him in the eyes of the people and of his government. So violent were these attacks, that the governor was brought to the field, to defend his character against the calumnies of a Mr. Daniel Clarke, who, by his wealth, his ambition, and his talent for intrigue, had acquired some influence in the country. He was severely wounded on this occasion, and confined a long time to his bed; but he sustained himself in his station, and persisted in his honorable course. He made it his especial care to protect and encourage the people he had been sent to govern; he used every means in his power to conciliate them to their American countrymen, and to spread among them the blessings of education, and of that political information, which alone could enable them to govern themselves, and to use and appreciate properly the great privileges of freemen, which they were to enjoy. He became sincerely attached to these his adopted countrymen; and from the purity of his character, the mildness of his official and private conduct, and the benevolence that beamed from his noble countenance, no man was better calculated to have reconciled and attached this new and foreign people to the government he represented. The Louisianians often proved their attachment to him, and

when they were admitted into the union as an independent state in 1812, they sanctioned the choice of the general government, by electing him governor, by their own free, and almost unanimous voice.

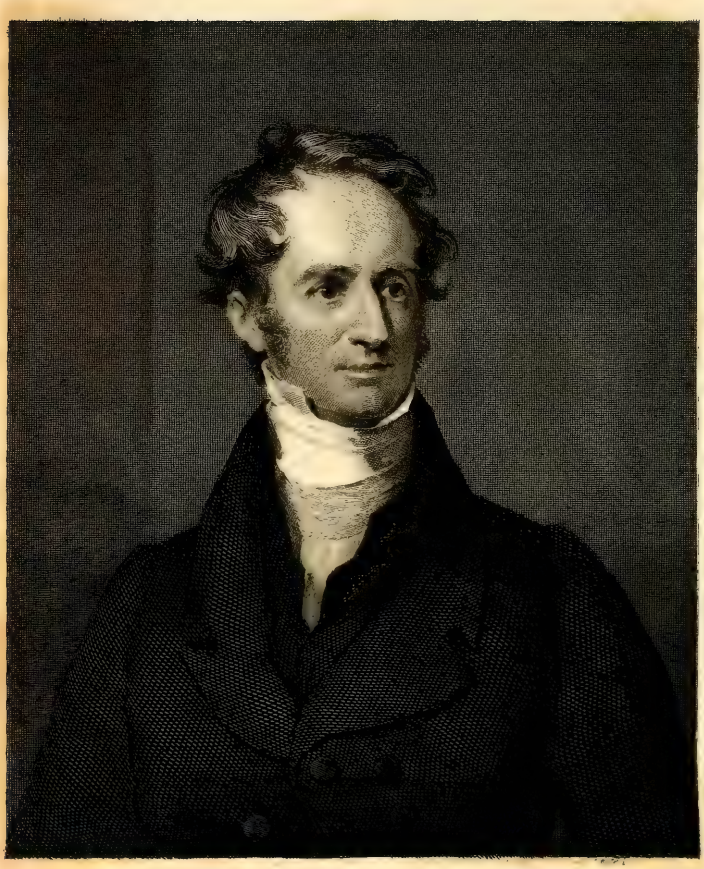
Mr. Claiborne, however, during this period had met with many private misfortunes. During the first summer in which he had been exposed to that climate so baneful to strangers, he had nearly succumbed himself to an attack of the yellow fever; his lady fell a victim to that fatal disease, his infant daughter accompanied her mother, and his brother-in-law young Lewis, who had followed him to Louisiana, fell in a duel. All three had expired on the same day, and were consigned to the same tomb. When time had allayed the grief of this great calamity, Mr. C. subsequently married Miss Clarissa Duralde, a young creole lady of great beauty and mental qualities, whom he had the misfortune to lose also, two years after marriage. His situation rendering the position of a single life in some measure unbecoming, he again married, in 1812, Miss Bosque, an accomplished lady of Spanish extraction, by whom he is survived.

In 1814 and '15, during the memorable invasion of that state by the English, Mr. Claiborne was still in the executive chair of Louisiana, and had been active and highly instrumental in preparing the military defence of the country, and giving to General Jackson, previous to his arrival on that station, all the necessary information relative thereto. He, however, voluntarily surrendered to the general, when he arrived, the command of the militia of his state, and consented himself to receive his orders; a measure which he thought a just tribute to the military experience of General Jackson, and which he adopted, also, to avoid to his state all the expenses of the equipment and movements of her militia, which would have fallen upon her alone had he kept the command. Thus, to his great regret, it was not the fortune of Governor Claiborne to have participated personally in the glorious contest of the 8th of January. He was marching rapidly, to join in the action of the 23d of December, at the head of a select corps of Louisiana militia, eager to meet the enemy, when he received orders from General Jackson to turn back immediately, and repair with his troops to Gentilly, to occupy the important pass of Chef-Menteur, where it was feared that the English had made a diversion; he obeyed, and reluctantly directed his march to that station, which he fortified, and remained in that command during the whole contest, which terminated in the memorable battle of New Orleans. Previous to this, an occurrence had taken place, which may be worthy here of insertion. All have heard of the adventurer Lafitte, whose piratical character was some-

what extenuated by many traits of valor and generosity, and against whose depredations in our southern seas, the efforts of Governor Claiborne and of the general government had been long directed, with but little success. The British commander of the naval expedition against Louisiana, aware of the intrepidity of this buccaneer, and of his perfect topographical knowledge of this region, when he approached the waters of the Mississippi, addressed a letter to Lafitte, offering a large sum of money, and a captaincy in the British navy, for his aid and counsel to the invading expedition. Lafitte rejected with contempt these offers; to prove his sincerity, he immediately sent the letter of the British commander to Governor Claiborne, by a confidential agent, and tendered his services with those of his band to the American government, provided all criminal prosecutions against them by the United States should be suspended. The governor immediately accepted the proposal, upon consultation with the proper authorities. Lafitte and his determined band were admitted into our ranks, and subsequently rendered the most efficient services at the head of our artillery; we need not say that they obtained the pardon which their conduct merited.

In 1817, on the expiration of his term as governor of the state, Mr. Claiborne was elected to represent Louisiana in the senate of the United States; but fate had here decreed a premature end to his career: he died in New Orleans, of a liver complaint, on the 23d of November, 1817, and in the forty-second year of his age. All ranks attended his remains to the grave with undissembled grief. The municipal authorities on the same day decreed a public mourning, and appropriated a sum of money to erect a marble monument to his memory.

Thus guided by the firm integrity, the virtue, and the sincere and warm devotion to his country, which particularly distinguished him, Governor Claiborne had sustained his character throughout his event ful administration, as a pure and devoted, an able, dignified, and virtuous chief magistrate. It was his lot to have been at the helm of the important post of Louisiana during all the critical periods of our early collisions with Spain upon our southern frontiers, of the Burr conspir acy, and of the invasion of Louisiana by a British army. In all these circumstances, he remained the able agent, and the faithful sentinel of his country upon the outskirts of the union. No man had ever enjoyed greater honors at so early an age: seldom has virtue been rewarded by a more rapid and brilliant career. C.



Engraved by W.G. Armstrong from a Painting by T. Sully in possession of J. W. Richards Esq.r

John McLean

JOHN M^cLEAN.

The subject of this notice is one of those remarkable men, who, by the force of their own independent exertions, have risen from obscurity into great reputation, and into the highest offices in the nation. History has been said to be philosophy teaching by example; and this is more eminently true with regard to Biography, where every lineament of the character is marked with more distinctness, and is seen under a clearer light.

John McLean was born 11th March, 1785, in Morris County, New Jersey. When he was about four years of age his father removed to the western country. He remained a year at Morgantown in Virginia, and then removed to that part of the State which has since been erected into the State of Kentucky. He first settled on Jessamine, near where the town of Nicholasville is now situated; but in 1793 he removed to the neighborhood of Mayslick, where he continued to reside until the year 1797, when he emigrated to the then northwestern territory (now Ohio), and settled on the farm on which the son now lives. At an ealy age John was sent to school, and made unusual proficiency for one whose general opportunities were so limited.

The old gentleman being in narrow circumstances, and having a pretty large family, was unable to send John from home to be educated. He continued, therefore, to labor on the farm until he was about sixteen years of age, when his father consented to his placing himself successively under the instruction of the Reverend Matthew E. Wallace and of Mr. Stubbs, by whose assistance he made great advance in the study of the languages. During this period, his expenses, both for board and tuition, were defrayed by himself; for so limited were the circumstances of his father, that he generously refused any assistance from him.

When about eighteen years of age young McLean went to write

in the clerk's office of Hamilton County. This employment, at the same time that it would enable him to support himself, would also initiate him into the practical part of the law, the profession on which he had already fixed his ardent and aspiring mind. The arrangement was, that he should write in the office for three years, but reserving a certain portion of each day for study; and at the same time he was to prosecute the study of law under the direction of Arthur St. Clair, an eminent counsellor, and son of the illustrious General of that name. It is in this way that a mind animated by a genuine ambition, and firm and determined in its purposes, is frequently able to overcome the greatest difficulties, and to show with how much ease industry and virtue can triumph over all the disadvantages of obscurity and poverty.

During his continuance in the office, young McLean was indefatigable in the prosecution of his double duties. He also became a member of a debating society, the first which was formed in Cincinnati; and it is a fact entitled to notice, that most of the young men who contributed to its formation have since distinguished themselves in the public service of their country. Young McLean took an active part in the discussions which were held in this society. The notice which his efforts attracted still further confirmed him in the determination which he had already taken not to aim at any ordinary mark, but to make the highest intellectual distinction the prize of his ambition.

In the Spring of 1807 Mr. McLean was married to Miss Rebecca Edwards, daughter of Dr. Edwards, formerly of South Carolina; a lady who, to the most amiable manners, unites the utmost benevolence of character, and who has presided over the cares of a large family with the greatest judgment and discretion.

In the fall of the same year Mr. McLean was admitted to the practice of the law, and settled at Lebanon. Here he immediately attracted notice, and soon rose into a lucrative practice at the bar. In October, 1812, he was elected to congress in the district in which he resided, by a very large majority over both his competitors.

From his first entrance upon public life Mr. McLean was identified with the democratic party. He was an ardent supporter of the war and of the administration of Mr. Madison; not that he was the blind and undistinguishing advocate of every measure which was proposed by his party; for he who will take the trouble to turn over the public journals of that period, will find that his votes were mainly given in reference to principle, and that the idea of supporting a dominant

party, merely because it was dominant, did not influence his judgment, or withdraw him from the high path of duty which he had marked out for himself. He was well aware that the association of individuals into parties was sometimes absolutely necessary to the prosecution and accomplishment of any great public measure. This he supposed was sufficient to induce the members composing them, on any little difference with the majority, to sacrifice their own judgment to that of the greater number, and to distrust their own opinions when they were in contradiction to the general views of the party. But as party was thus to be regarded as itself only an instrument for the attainment of some great public good, the instrument should not be raised into greater importance than the end, nor any clear and undoubted principle of morality be violated for the sake of adhering to party. Mr. McLean often voted against his political friends; and so highly were both his integrity and judgment estimated, that no one of the democratic party separated himself from him on that account, nor did this independent course in the smallest degree diminish the weight which he had acquired among his own constituents.

The first session which he attended was the extra session in the summer after the declaration of war. At this session, the tax bills were passed to sustain the war. The law which was passed to indemnify individuals for property lost in the public service was originated by Mr. McLean, and very naturally contributed to add to the reputation with which he had set out in public life. At the ensuing session he introduced a resolution, instructing the proper committee to inquire into the expediency of giving pensions to the widows of the officers and soldiers who had fallen in the military service, which was afterwards sanctioned by law. At this session he also delivered a very able and effective speech in defence of the administration in the prosecution of the war. This was published in the leading journals of that day, and gave an earnest of the future eminence which our subject was destined to attain.

Mr. McLean was a member of the committees of foreign relations and on the public lands.

In the fall of 1815 he was re-elected to Congress with the same unanimity as before. During the same year he was solicited to become a candidate for the senate, which he declined, inasmuch as the House seemed at that time to present the widest arena for the display of talents and for the acquisition of public fame. Mr. McLean was at this period barely eligible to a seat in the senate, having just attained his thirtieth year.

Finding that the expenses of a family were greater than the compensation he received as a member of Congress, and having no other resources than were derived from his personal exertions, he consented to become a candidate for the bench of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and was elected to that office in 1816, unanimously. The duties of this station he discharged with great ability. His mind seemed to combine all the leading qualities which are requisite in a Judge, and his advancement to the office was felt to be a public advantage to the whole State. Meanwhile his reputation abroad was increasing in proportion; and in the summer of 1822 Mr. Monroe appointed him Commissioner of the General Land Office. The emoluments of this office were larger than the salary of Judge. This was a consideration which was entitled to great weight. Judge McLean had a growing family, whom he was anxious to educate; and at the same time that he would now be better able to accomplish this darling object, the schools in the district would present a better opportunity for attaining the higher branches of education. He remained in this station, however, only until the first of July, 1823, when he was appointed Postmaster-General.

Many of his friends endeavored to dissuade him from accepting this office. They urged that the former incumbents had found its duties exceedingly arduous, while at the same time they were not exempted from a large share of that abuse and calumny which is so often wantonly and indiscriminately heaped upon the public servants. It was agreed by many that no one could acquire reputation in the office. But Judge McLean determined to repose upon the virtue and intelligence of the people, and he went into the office with the determination of devoting his days and nights to the discharge of its duties.

The finances of the department were in a low condition, and it did not possess the public confidence. But immediately order was restored, and the public confidence revived. And it soon became evident how easy it is to manage the most complicated business when the requisite ability and industry are put in requisition for the task. In a short time the finances of the department were in a most flourishing condition; despatch and regularity were given to the mails, and the commercial intercourse of the whole country was prosecuted with the utmost celerity and ease.

Inefficient contractors were dismissed, and the same course was adopted with regard to the postmasters and other agents of the department. Judge McLean controlled the entire action of the department. The whole correspondence was superintended and directed by him.

He gave his undivided and personal attention to every contract which was made or altered. All appointments, all charges against postmasters, were acted on by him. In short, there was nothing done, involving the efficiency or character of the department, which was not done under his immediate sanction.

When he accepted the office, the salary of the Postmaster-General was four thousand dollars. A proposition was made to increase it to six thousand, and was sanctioned by the House of Representatives, by an almost unanimous vote, in 1827. There were, indeed, very few votes against it; and some of the members who were opposed to it, regretted that they were compelled to pursue that course. In the senate, the bill passed also, almost unanimously. Mr. Randolph voted against it, and said the salary was for the officer and not for the office; and he proposed to vote for the bill if the law should be made to expire when Judge McLEAN left the department.

During the whole period that the affairs of the department were administered by Judge McLEAN, he had, necessarily, a most difficult part to act. The country was divided into two great parties, animated by the most determined spirit of rivalry, and each bent upon advancing itself to the lead of public affairs. A question of great import was now started, whether it was proper to make political opinions the test of qualification for office. Such a principle had been occasionally acted upon during preceding periods of our history, but so rarely, as to constitute the exception rather than the rule. It had never become the settled and systematic course of conduct of any public officer. Doubtless every one is bound to concede something to the temper and opinions of the party to which he belongs, otherwise party would be an association without any connecting bond of alliance: but no man is permitted to infringe any one of the great rules of morality and justice for the sake of subserving the interests of his party. It cannot be too often repeated, nor too strongly impressed upon the public men of America, that nothing is easier than to reconcile these two apparently conflicting views. The meaning of party is that it is an association of men for the purpose of advancing the public interests. Men flung together, indiscriminately, without any common bond of alliance, would be able to achieve nothing great and valuable; while, united together, to lend each other mutual support and assistance, they are able to surmount the greatest obstacles, and to accomplish the most important ends. This is the true notion of party. It imports combined action, but does not imply any departure from the great principles of truth and morality. So long as the structure of the human

mind is so different in different individuals, there will always be a wide scope for diversity of opinion as to public measures; but no foundation is yet laid in the human mind for any material difference of opinion as to what constitutes the great rule of justice.

The course which was pursued by Judge McLean was marked by the greatest wisdom and moderation. Believing that every public officer held his office in trust for the people, he determined to be influenced by no other principles, in the discharge of his public duties, than a faithful performance of the trust committed to him. No individual was removed from office by him on account of his political opinions. In making appointments, where the claims and qualifications of individuals were equal, and at the same time one was known to be friendly to the administration, he felt himself bound to appoint the one who was friendly. But when persons were recommended for office, it was not the practice to name, as a recommendation, that they were friendly to the administration. In all such cases the man who was believed to be the best qualified was selected by the department.

On the arrival of General Jackson at Washington, after his election, and when he was about selecting the members of his cabinet, Judge McLean was sent for to ascertain whether he was willing to remain at Washington. Gen. Jackson having stated the object he had in view in requesting an interview, the Judge remarked to him, before he submitted any proposition on the subject, that he was desirous to explain to him the line of conduct which he had hitherto pursued. He observed, that the General might have received the impression from some of the public prints that the Postmaster-General had wielded the patronage of his office for the purpose of advancing the General's election to the Presidency: that he wished it distinctly to be understood that he had done no such thing, and that if he had pursued such a course, he would deem himself unworthy of the confidence of the President elect, or of any honorable man. The General replied with warm expressions of regard and confidence, that he approved of his course, and wished him to remain in the post-office department. He at the same time expressed regret that circumstances did not enable him to offer the Judge the Treasury department. The War and the Navy departments were subsequently tendered to him, but he declined them both. Afterwards Gen. Jackson sent for him, expressed great regret at his leaving Washington, and made unbounded professions of friendship if he would consent to remain. But the Judge's resolution had been taken, and he was determined to adhere to it. The spirit of party

had become unusually bitter and acrimonious, and threatened to overleap all the fences with which it had been hitherto confined. He believed that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for him to pursue the even and measured course which he had hitherto followed with so much credit to himself and advantage to the nation. Retirement from political life seemed, under such circumstances, most desirable. The President, however, wishing to avail himself of abilities which had been exerted so long in behalf of the public welfare, offered him the place of Judge of the Supreme Court, the highest judicial station in the country; and on his signifying that he would accept, he was immediately nominated, and the nomination ratified by the senate.

Soon after this appointment many of the public journals in the northern, middle, and western states introduced his name to the public as a candidate for the presidency at the succeeding election. Many of the opposition papers adhered to Mr. Clay, and the name of Mr. Calhoun was brought out in some parts of the South. The Anti-Masonic party showed a strong disposition to rally upon Judge McLean, and it was clear that that party could not elect, unless the other elements of opposition should unite with them.

The Anti-Masons met in convention in the fall of the year 1831, and Judge McLean addressed a letter to the members of the convention, declining a nomination. In this letter he declared, that "If by a multiplicity of candidates, an election by the people should be prevented, he should consider it a national misfortune. In the present agitated state of the public mind, an individual who should be elected to the chief magistracy by less than a majority of the votes of the people, could scarcely hope to conduct successfully the business of the nation. He should possess in advance the public confidence, and a majority of the suffrages of the people is the only satisfactory evidence of that confidence."

Shortly after the re-election of Gen. Jackson, his name was again brought forward, in the first instance by a nomination of the people in Baltimore, which was followed by similar nominations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, and several other States. A majority of the members of the Ohio legislature also nominated him for the same place. At length, in August, 1835, he addressed a letter to the chairman of one of the principal committees, in which he expressed the same sentiments he had declared on the preceding occasion. He was aware that this course would discourage his friends, but he was not desirous to attain the office, except on such terms as would enable

him to carry out those principles which would elevate and tranquillize the political action of the country.

Judge McLean has been a member of the Supreme Court for more than seven years, during the whole of which he has been eminently distinguished for his learning, ability, and eloquence. If there is any one field of jurisprudence in which he is more distinguished than another, it may be said to be constitutional law, in which, though there is less opportunity for the display of mere learning, there is at any rate wider scope for the exercise of the power of reasoning and investigation. There is no human reputation more enviable than that which is acquired in this office. Independently of the permanent tenure of the station, the opportunities are so frequent for the exertion of the highest intellectual ability, that it would seem to offer greater temptations to ambition than even the office of chief magistrate.

Judge McLean is still in the vigor of life, and unless withdrawn from this high station by the solicitations of his countrymen, may continue for many years to discharge its duties with the same ability and wisdom which have uniformly distinguished him.

Engraved by C. Parker from a Painting by A. H. Ward in possession of Charles A. Lewis Esqr

EDWARD EVERETT.

Edward Everett.

EDWARD EVERETT.

The incidents in the life of Edward Everett, and his public labors, have been so various and numerous, that the most concise record of them will crowd upon the limits within which it is necessary to confine our biographical notices.

He was born in Dorchester, Norfolk County, Massachusetts. His father, Oliver Everett, was the son of a farmer in the town of Ded ham, of the same county, and descended from one of the original planters of that place, where the family still remains, like their predecessors for five generations, respectable cultivators of the soil. Deprived, by the narrow circumstances of his family, of early opportunities of education, he succeeded in preparing himself for College after he became of age; and was graduated at Cambridge in 1779, when twenty-eight years old.

In 1782 he was ordained over the New South Church in Boston, from which he obtained a dismission in 1792. President Allen, in his biographical dictionary, speaks of his "high reputation," and of "the very extraordinary powers of his mind." On leaving the ministry, he retired to a small farm in Dorchester; and among other marks of the estimation in which he was held, was made a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Norfolk County. He died at the age of 51, on the 19th of December, 1802.

The subject of this memoir, who was the fourth in a family of eight children, was born on the 11th of April, 1794. His education, till he was thirteen years of age, was obtained almost exclusively at the public schools in Dorchester and Boston, to which latter place the family removed after his father's decease. In 1807 he was sent to the Academy at Exeter, N. H. Here, under the tuition of Dr. Abbott, he completed his preparation for College. He entered Havard University at Cambridge, in August, 1807, and graduated in 1811 with the

highest honors of his class, and with a reputation which has seldom been attained at so early an age.

Under the influence of the late Rev. J. S. Buckminster, who was the minister of his family in Boston, he was induced to select the profession of Theology. His studies were pursued with the benefit of the direction and advice of President Kirkland, of whose family he was a member. In 1812 he was appointed Latin tutor in the University. In the autumn of 1813, being then less than nineteen and a half years of age, he was settled as the successor of Buckminster over the Brattle Street Church in Boston. In addition to the ordinary duties of his ministry, which he performed with a fidelity and success of which all who heard him are the witnesses, he wrote and published a Defence of Christianity, against a peculiar form of infidelity then broached by some persons of considerable pretensions to learning. This is an elaborate and most able work, and displays resources of erudition which would be thought worthy of admiration in a scholar of advanced age.

Having been appointed by the Corporation and Overseers of Harvard University Professor of Greek Literature, he obtained a dismission from his congregation, and was inducted into office at Cambridge when under twenty-one years of age. For the improvement of his health, and in order to perfect his preparation for the duties to which he was called as connected with the college, he was permitted and enabled, by the corporation, to travel in Europe, and to reside for a season at some of the principal foreign universities.

He embarked from Boston in the spring of 1815, in one of the first ships that sailed after the conclusion of the treaty of peace with Great Britain. On arriving at Liverpool he heard of the escape of Napoleon from Elba, and was in London when the battle of Waterloo was fought. From London he proceeded towards Germany, accompanied by his distinguished friend and countryman, Mr. George Ticknor. They passed a few days at Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Leyden, and the other Dutch cities; and proceeded through Westphalia to Gottingen in the kingdom of Hanover. Here, at this most celebrated German University he spent more than two years of assiduous application to study. The vacations were employed in excursions to the principal cities and universities of North Germany. During one of these vacations he visited the Hague, where his brother was residing in a diplomatic capacity. On another occasion he made a journey on foot through the Hartz Mountains.

The winter of 1817 he spent in Paris, acquiring, among other

branches of knowledge, an acquaintance with the Italian and modern Greek languages. Here he enjoyed the society of such men as Visconti, Humboldt, the Abbé de Pradt, Benjamin Constant, Sismondi, Koray, and General Lafayette. In the spring of 1818 he went over to England, spent some time at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, visited Wales and the Lakes, made an excursion to Edinburgh and the Highlands of Scotland, passed a few days with Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford, and became acquainted with Dugald Stewart, and many of the other leading characters of Scotland and England.

In the fall of 1818 he returned to France, and proceeded to Switzerland and Italy, accompanied by General Lyman, late mayor of Boston. They took the road to Lyons, passed a few days at Geneva, visited Chamouni and the glaciers of Mont Blanc, made a circuit through Lausanne, Bern, Lucerne, Schweitz, Altdorf, and the Valais; crossed the Simplon to Milan; went through Lombardy to Venice, and then back over the Appenines to Florence. The winter was spent at Rome, in laborious study. While there, he saw Canova, and had frequent opportunities of meeting, among other distinguished persons, the members of the Bonaparte family,—the mother of Napoleon, the princess Borghese his sister, Louis the ex-King of Holland, and Lucien.

In February, 1819, still accompanied by Mr. Lyman, he went to Naples; and after visiting the places of interest in the neighborhood of that city, crossed over to Bari on the Adriatic; and thence travelled on horseback, through a country where there were no carriage roads nor public conveyances, and much infested with brigands, by the way of Lecce to Otranto. From Otranto they took passage to Corfu, and from thence in a row-boat they proceeded to the coast of Albania. At Yanina, its capital, they were received with great kindness by Ali Pacha, and his sons Muctar and Veli Pacha. They bore letters to this famous chieftain from Lord Byron. Crossing Mount Pindus, and going north as far as the Vale of Tempe, they returned through Thessaly to Thermopylæ, passing by Pharsalia, and taking the road over Mount Parnassus to Delphi, Thebes, and Athens. They then made an excursion over the Isthmus of Corinth to Sparta, and returning to the north, embarked in the Gulf of Volo for the Dardanelles. After visiting the site of Troy, they reached Constantinople. This tour over Greece took place about ten months before the breaking out of the war with Ali Pacha, which brought on the Greek revolution.

Towards the end of June, 1819, they passed the Balkan Mountains, not far from the route taken afterwards by the Russian army. Crossing

the Danube at Nicopol, they went through Wallachia to Bucharest, and entered Austria at the pass of Rotenthurm, in the Carpathian Mountains. After a week's quarantine in the secluded vale of the Aluda, they proceeded to Hermanstadt, the capital of Transylvania, and thence through the Bannat of Temeswar across Hungary to Vienna. After leaving this beautiful metropolis, they traversed Austria, the Tyrol, and Bavaria; and returning by the way of Paris and London, took passage for America, September, 1819. The whole time spent by Mr. EVERETT in his travels and studies in Europe and Asia, was nearly four years and seven months.

Shortly after his arrival in Boston, he was solicited to assume the editorial charge of the North American Review. Its number of subscribers, at that time, was inconsiderable. The effect produced by him upon its circulation was instantaneous, and great beyond parallel in our literary history. Many of its numbers passed into a second and even a third edition. He gave it an American character and spirit; and such was the tone he imparted to it, that it commanded, not only the admiration and applause of his own countrymen, but the respect and acknowledgments of foreign critics and scholars. He defended our institutions and character with so much spirit and power, that the voice of transatlantic detraction was silenced; and in one memorable instance, an apology to the people of the United States was drawn from the editor of a British periodical. His editorial connexion with the North American Review lasted four years, from 1819 to the close of 1823; but he has continued to contribute to its pages to this day. It has been enriched by the contributions of many of our ablest scholars, but no single writer has done so much to secure and maintain its high stand and wide-spread influence as EDWARD EVERETT; and if he had written nothing else, his articles in that journal would constitute a monument of genius, eloquence, erudition, and patriotism, which would secure to him an enviable reputation. His lectures on Greek literature, delivered to the students of Harvard University, are remembered with respectful gratitude by all whose privilege it was to be connected with the college during his continuance in office there. At the same time he delivered two courses of lectures in Boston on Ancient Art, which, as well as his collegiate lectures, remain still unpublished. When, after having received such corrections and additions as his mature experience and leisure may enable him to bestow upon them, they shall be given to the world, those who heard them are confident that they will be regarded as one of the noblest contributions ever made to our literature.

While residing at Cambridge, he kept up a correspondence with his learned friends abroad, particularly with the scholars and patriots of Greece; and by his zealous exertions did much to awaken the interest which, throughout the country and in the halls of Congress, was expressed in behalf of that renowned people in their long and glorious struggle for liberty and independence.

In the discharge of his duties as Professor at Cambridge he was faithful, constant, and eminently successful. He did not confine himself to what was absolutely required of him; but by voluntary and gratuitous labors and offices of kindness, conferred benefits upon the students, which are not forgotten by them, however widely they may have been dispersed in the course of their subsequent lives. He prepared, while professor, a Greek grammar and a Greek class-book for the use of the students.

In 1824 he delivered the oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge. General Lafayette was among his auditors. This performance established his fame as an orator. About this time a vacancy occurred in the Congressional District to which Cambridge belongs; the gentleman who for many years had occupied the seat, having declined a re-election. The most popular political character in the district was put in nomination by one of the largest conventions ever assembled within it. A few young men made a volunteer nomination of Edward Everett. His talents and qualifications were not unknown to the intelligent people of Middlesex, and, to the astonishment of all, he was elected by a decisive majority.

Contrary to his expectation at the time of accepting a nomination, his connexion with the University, as an instructor, ceased on his election to Congress; but he was immediately chosen by the overseers to fill a vacancy at their board.

In December, 1825, he took his seat in Congress, to which he was re-elected for five successive Congresses by overwhelming majorities. His legislative labors were very great. For the whole period of ten years he was always on the Committee of Foreign Affairs, a part of the time its chairman. He drew up many of its reports, particularly that on the Panama Mission. After having reported to the House on our claims upon foreign powers for spoliation, he continued to discuss the subject in the North American Review, and finally collected all the facts and arguments, in reference to the question, as it stood with each foreign power concerned in it, into a volume.

Much of the credit for having finally procured the adjustment of these claims is due to him.

He was chairman of the Select Committee, during Mr. Adams's Presidency, on the Georgia controversy; and always took a leading part, while in Congress, in the efforts that were made to protect the Indians from injustice. In the spring of 1827 he addressed a series of letters to Mr. Canning on the subject of the colonial trade, which were extensively re-published. He always served on the Library Committee, and generally on that for the Public Buildings; together with John Sergeant, he constituted the minority on the famous Retrenchment Committee. He drew the report for the Committee in favor of the heirs of Fulton. Together with the present Governor of Connecticut, Mr. Ellsworth, he constituted the minority of the Bank investigating Committee, which was despatched to Philadelphia, and wrote the minority report. He wrote the minority report of the Committee of Foreign Relations in reference to the controversy with France, in the spring of 1835; distinguished himself by the high ground he took on the subject in debate, and supplied, in the last clause of his report, the words of the resolution unanimously passed, in reference to it, by the House of Representatives. He also, at the same session, prepared a statement on French spoliations prior to 1800, which was printed by order of the House.

Such were some of his Congressional labors. He was emphatically, there as everywhere, a working man. He made himself perfectly acquainted with every subject that came before the House. His Speeches and Reports exhaust all the facts and arguments that belong to their topics. His manner of speaking was simple, elegant, and persuasive; and always secured attention. He was firm and steadfast in his political course; but urbane, respectful, and just toward his opponents. He disarmed his enemies, and was faithful to his friends; and his whole deportment was consistent with the history of his life, and will be readily acknowledged by his associates, of every party, to have been every way becoming the gentleman, the scholar, and the patriot.

In the interim of Congress, during the summer of 1829, he made an extensive tour through the south-western and western states, and was every where received with marked attentions, having been honored by public dinners in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, without distinction of party. When, in 1833, General Jackson visited New England, Mr. Everett was selected by his constituents in Charlestown to address him on Bunker Hill. The reply of the President was expressive of marked respect for his character and talents.

During the whole of his political career, up to this time, he has been mindful of the duty he owes to our literature. His pen has been ac-

tive in innumerable ways ; and each year he has been, without cessation, pouring forth a series of orations, lectures, and addresses of an historical, patriotic, philanthropic, and classical character ; a large number of which have been collected in a volume, which is extensively circulated throughout the country. As a writer and speaker, he is surpassed by no one in grace, purity, and richness of style. His voice and manner of delivery are in harmony with the character of his sentiments. He never wearies, cannot be exhausted, and invariably causes delight to the hearts of his hearers. Whether with or without preparation, in the chair of State, from the academical stage, or in the unforeseen and ever-varying conjunctures of the literary or political festival, he is never taken by surprise, but adorns all that he touches.

In the spring of 1835, he took his leave of the House of Representatives, having declined a re-election.

On the election of Governor Davis to the Senate of the United States, in Feburary, 1835 he was nominated as his successor ; and in the ensuing November was elected by a large majority. In 1836 he was re-elected to the same office, and in 1837 he received the largest majority ever given in Massachusetts in a contested election.

Excellent and distinguished as the Governors of Massachusetts have ever been, it is quite certain that no chief magistrate ever enjoyed a higher degree of the confidence of the people of that State than Edward Everett. His administration is a model of republican simplicity, fidelity, industry, and usefulness. He neglects no duty, and aims at no display. While in the discharge of his public office, he is dignified, firm, and regardful of the trust committed to him. When not engaged in official duty, he is undistinguishable from the body of his fellow-citizens ; attracting attention only by the conscientious carefulness with which he fulfils every obligation as a citizen, a head of a family, and a man.

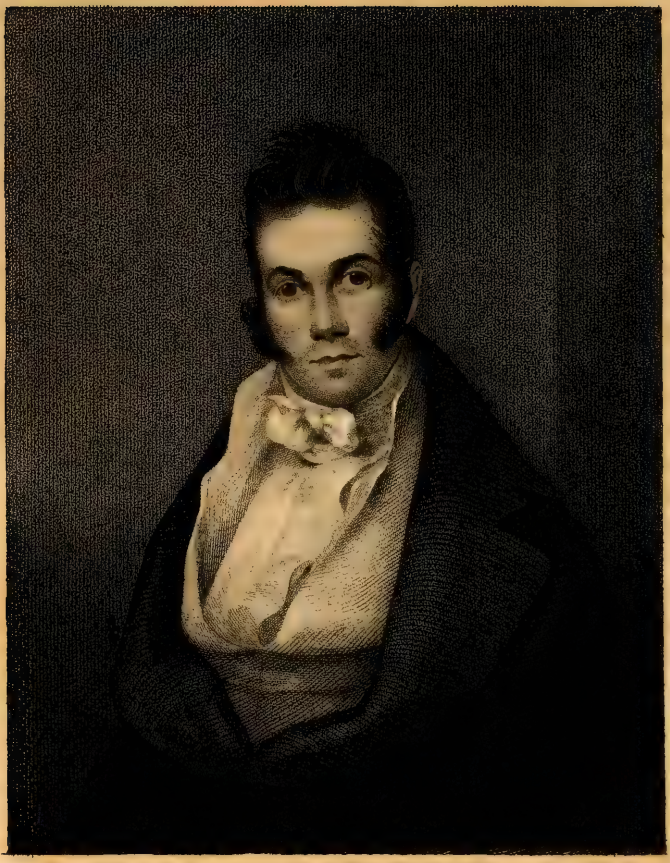
His administration has already begun to show the fruits of his industry and wisdom in the various ways in which it has advanced the public welfare. He is steadily and efficiently promoting a reform in the law, encouraging internal improvement, and the development of the physical and mechanical energies of the State ; elevating the standard and diffusing the blessings of education ; increasing the usefulness, and preventing abuses of the banking system ; revising the militia, arresting the progress of disorder, and providing the means of its suppression ; securing the public archives from destruction and loss, and unfolding all the capacities of the State, particularly its great resources, agriculture and the arts. Resolves, laws, and commissions, for these

and other important objects, have been suggested or favored by his influence. When it is considered that he is yet in the prime of life, and that, blessed with a good constitution, sound and pure health, and the most temperate, and perfectly disciplined habits of mind and body, it is not too much to indulge the hope that for many years to come his benignant and invaluable influence will be felt upon the refinement, the literature, and the government of Massachusetts and of the Union.

In this sketch but a small proportion of Governor EVERETT's writings have been enumerated. Many of the incidents in his life, and of his public services, which would claim a place in a full and complete biography, are necessarily omitted. The circumstances of his early education, and the course of his travels and studies when abroad, have been detailed with some minuteness, from a belief that every intelligent and reflecting reader will be curious to trace the progress, and ascertain the means by which such a character has been formed.

Besides the professional and political honors to which he has attained, Governor EVERETT is a member of various scientific and literary institutions at home and abroad. He is familiarly acquainted, not only with the ancient monuments of learning, but with the languages and literature of the principal modern nations; and is understood, amidst the cares of office, to keep fresh and bright all his acquirements of erudition and taste. As a politician, he may, perhaps, encounter the prejudices of some; but as a man of genius and learning, a finished scholar and accomplished gentleman, an ardent republican, a promoter of his country's welfare, and a defender of its honor, he is undoubtedly regarded with liberal and just pride, and a sincere good-will, by all his countrymen, of every party, and in every part of the land.

C. W. U.



Engraved for Hopper's Views from a Painting by J. Wood

Thomas Say

THOMAS SAY.

Science, and particularly Natural Science, has fewer holds upon the popular attention than the achievements of war or policy. Laboring to render some small service to the whole human race, and occupied in preparing the workmanship of their minds for the scrutiny of men in foreign countries and future ages, the votaries of philosophy may perhaps feel their task even more dignified; as its field is more extensive and permanent than the changes of empires. They lean, perhaps, habitually less to the applause of the age and country in which they live, than to that gradually accumulating sanction of mankind which begins in obscurity, and gradually diffuses itself—a scattered and posthumous fame.

> "Not all at once, as thunder breaks the cloud:
> The notes at first, were rather sweet than loud;
> By just degrees they ev'ry moment rise,
> Fill the wide earth and gain upon the skies!"

Yet as our countrymen have never shown themselves deaf to the praise of honorable actions, though achieved in a field in which the great mass takes but little interest, and as they pride themselves in the reputation of the men who have done honor to America in the closet, we do not fear to entrust the fame of a naturalist to those who cherish with a just delight the memories of Godfrey and Rittenhouse, or the scientific renown of a Franklin. The political institutions of America, and the abstract researches of the intellect, have at least this quality in common—that they are applicable to a wider field than a single age or nation, and that the lessons they teach, however desirable for those who are engaged in them, derive their principal value from their adaptation to the general service of mankind.

The family of Thomas Say was settled in Pennsylvania from the time of its first colonization. His ancestors by the father's side are understood to have been Huguenots, who migrated to England in pursuit of religious liberty: and his lineal predecessor, in the fourth

degree of proximity, came to America with William Penn, accompanied by others of his family. The integrity and activity of these high principled and determined men were rewarded by a liberal share of the Divine blessings upon the external circumstances which surrounded them. They and their descendants generally lived to an extreme age, surrounded by peace and abundance, and enjoying the confidence and respect of their fellow-citizens within the colony. His grandfather, Thomas Say, a very patriarchal man, was united, early in the eighteenth century, to the religious society of Friends. Dr. Benjamin Say was long known in Philadelphia as a skilful and benevolent practitioner of medicine, and enjoyed in that capacity a large share of public confidence and patronage. Having been connected with military proceedings during the war of Independence, he joined that seceding portion of the society of which he had been a member, known by the name of Free Quakers.

The immediate subject of our memoir was born July 27th, 1787; and was the eldest son of Dr. Benjamin Say, and Anna, his first wife, a daughter of Benjamin Bonsall, Esq., of Kingsessing. In his early youth he was brought up in rigid compliance with many of the peculiar observances of his religious connexion. He received a considerable part of his education at their school at Westtown in Pennsylvania, and the remainder of it generally at their other institutions. He manifested at this period a remarkable docility of temper, a profound and confiding respect for his parents and teachers, and a great fondness for study. He pursued, in independence of any one's advice or suggestion, a very extended course of reading among the writers of his own language; a pursuit, however, soon destined to give way to the accumulation of fact or natural truth.

At an early period of his life, a near family connexion with the celebrated naturalist, William Bartram, of Kingsessing, induced the young Say, together with several of his acquaintance, to devote a considerable amount of time to collecting objects for their venerable friend's museum. This occurrence seems to have fixed his destiny. The student, young as he was, felt himself at once in his proper sphere. He immediately commenced the study of natural history; a pursuit which, though occasionally suffering a temporary interruption, was never wholly laid aside for the remainder of his life. The natural gaiety of youth, the attractions of fashion, the multiform allurements which surround a young man of easy fortune, and even the serious claims of a commercial establishment, were all capable of occupying his mind but for a short season, to be super-

seded by those boundless cravings for knowledge which an Almighty power had placed within his breast. When, in compliance with the earnest wishes of his father, he entered into commercial engagements, the future naturalist was found by his friends occupied with those pursuits for which nature had designed him, and leaving the details of business to others. The commercial efforts proved unsuccessful; and Mr. SAY, deprived of his patrimony, instead of endeavoring to repair the loss, resolved to devote himself exclusively to Natural History. From this may be dated the commencement of his purely scientific career; he now began to consider science as a profession, and the loss of worldly property seemed the road to higher intellectual distinction and more enlarged usefulness.

The studies of the youthful naturalist, about this period, underwent a temporary interruption from his service as a volunteer in the last war between our country and England. In common with several of his friends and relations, he became a member of the first troop of city cavalry; and in that capacity proceeded to Mount Bull, where he remained for some time during the years 1812 and 1813.

On the breaking up of this military post at the conclusion of peace, he had already devoted considerable labor to the study of natural history and the collection of the natural productions of our country, when he found the arena of his usefulness suddenly extended by the formation of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. When, on the 25th of January, 1812, a little association, which had previously met in a more private manner, resolved to assume this style and character, it was considered of importance that THOMAS SAY, though absent from the meeting, should be assumed as an original member.

The compliment thus paid to a modest and retiring man, shows, as was intended, the value which was then set upon his adhesion by the six others who thus associated him to their number. How amply his subsequent course justified their selection, the Academy has gladly testified. Such was the effect of private study, that his subsequent acquaintance had no opportunity of witnessing the infancy of his scientific powers. His elementary knowledge was complete, his acquaintance with classification adequate, and his power of observing and discriminating, accurate and ready. He was at once prepared for the difficult and laborious task of describing and cataloguing American productions in natural history. From this period, and for a considerable interval, his labors are almost exclusively directed in co-operation with the institution which he had assisted in founding.

In the tasks undertaken by Mr. SAY, almost every thing was to be done. The examination of the invertebral animals was to be introduced to the notice of our citizens; the myriads of minute objects of this class which attract the eye in our country, were to be investigated and described; the study was to be created, and the students induced to prosecute it.

For these purposes his efforts were truly unremitting. He was attentive and regular in his presence at the meetings of the Academy; and during the intervals, may be said to have been always at his post. Those who were in the habit of visiting the building will abundantly recollect the uniformity with which he was to be found there. The value of such assiduous attendance, by such a man, may be easily imagined. Those who were disposed to visit the establishment were at all times certain of agreeable society; for Mr. SAY was ever attentive to all reasonable calls for conversation, so much as even to surprise his friends. The effect of his liberality of disposition, with his amenity of manner, was peculiarly fascinating; and tended forcibly to produce in the same individuals a combined feeling of love for the science, and for the naturalist who had thus gained their affections.

This indefatigable and eminent man was at all times ready to bestow the fruits of his own researches upon those of his friends who felt an interest in similar pursuits. In this manner he was incalculably serviceable to young students in natural history by his advice and assistance; feeling far more anxious to extend the sphere of science in his country than to increase his own fame. This generosity in bestowing upon others the results of his own industry, so highly characteristic of true genius and real love for science, might be referred, in part, to a sense of his own strength. He had reputation to spare, and could hardly avoid feeling aware that the inquirer who grew in science must inevitably form a higher estimation of the teacher of whose merits he thus became a better judge.

In May, 1817, the Journal of the Academy was commenced; and Mr. SAY continued, during the next ten years, to be one of its steadiest and most laborious contributors.

In the autumn of that year an expedition to Florida was organized, for the purpose of procuring objects of natural history. The party consisted of Messrs. Maclure, Ord, SAY, and Peale, who spent the winter in that country, and collected a large number of specimens, with descriptions of many of which they afterwards enriched the Journal. In 1819 and 1820 the celebrated expedition to the Rocky

Mountains took place, in which Mr. Say took a part. His learning, his patient industry, and the confidence reposed in him by the officers of the detachment, are visible in every page of the narrative; and the very large portion which he contributed to the work is acknowledged by the editor. This embraces the whole of his favorite department, the invertebral animals, together with a great variety of additional subjects, to which, from circumstances of various kinds, it was convenient that Mr. Say should direct his attention. In the expedition to the sources of St. Peter's River, &c., performed in 1823, at least equal labor, in proportion to the time employed, was bestowed by him upon the collection of materials, although a portion of the preparation for the press was saved him by his friend, W. H. Keating, Esq., the editor.

During the period of our narrative, compliments from abroad came thick upon him; on these, however, he set but a limited value, except where they were the means of extending or increasing a knowledge of natural history. His correspondence with distinguished foreign naturalists occupied a large portion of his time, although constantly confined to matters of science.

In the year 1825, on the foundation of the well-known settlement made by the suggestion of Mr. Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana, Mr. Say removed to that place, at the request of his friend, William Maclure, Esq., for the purpose of assisting with others in the erection of a school of natural science. By the munificence of the distinguished individual last named, he enjoyed, in the wilds of the far west, all the advantages of a splendid library, abundant facilities for making collections, and a ready printing press. The scientific world is in possession of two volumes, the second and third of his splendid American Entomology, and six numbers of his Conchology; all which were among the fruits of his industry while at New Harmony. The volumes of the Entomology were published in Philadelphia, the others in Indiana.

It was while at New Harmony that Mr. Say's domestic happiness was enhanced by his union with Miss Lucy W. Sistare, of New-York, a lady in every way qualified to add to the felicity of such a man. In addition to many elegant accomplishments, Miss Sistare possessed the advantage of a fondness for the same pursuits, and great readiness and neatness with the pencil—a talent which was employed to the advantage of the beautiful works of which we have just spoken.

Besides the elaborate description of a number of natural objects

collected at New Harmony, and also in Mexico during the tours in that country made by Mr. Maclure, Mr. Say found himself, at this late period of life, again involved in the cares of business and the superintendence of property. Amid the chaos of mind which the settlement presented, Mr. Maclure felt the value and necessity of old and tried friendship, tested honor, and untiring industry, in the care of his vast estates. In none could he confide with more unhesitating promptitude than in the subject of our memoir; and he who in early youth had sacrificed his own property to the pursuit of science, was willing, in maturer age, to devote his talents to the care of that of his friend; thus proving, like the Ionian philosopher, that his neglect of pecuniary affairs had not arisen from want of ability, but from disinclination.

Amid these accumulating tasks and this honorable charge, the termination of his labors was now gradually approaching. The season was one of unusual mortality, and the ordinary and general causes of disease could only coöperate with the severe and devoted application of the naturalist. Mr. Say's habits of steady and protracted application, excessive abstinence and loss of sleep, had long before this period exerted an injurious influence upon his health, exhibiting their effects in repeated attacks of fever and dysentery; and when, in 1833, he paid a short visit to his friends in Philadelphia, for the conjoined objects of health and science, the ravages of disease were but too visible. Still, those who knew him were not conscious that it was then for the last time that he visited his native city or the walls of his beloved academy. After several renewals of disease, the same maladies returned with a highly nervous character; and finally, on the 10th of September, he sunk into the arms of death by an easy dissolution.

Thus perished, while yet in the vigor of his years, an individual on whom creative wisdom appeared to have stamped in the strongest manner the characters of a master mind in the study of the works of God.

The character of Mr. Say was in every way singularly fitted for the task which he thus made the business of his life. He was gifted with a strong intellect, accurate powers of observation, vast assiduity, a freedom from those unsettled wanderings of the mind which are so frequently the bane of genius, and an enthusiastic attachment to the subject of his studies. In philosophy, he was an advocate for that doctrine which attached exclusive importance to the evidence of the senses. Fact alone was the object which he thought worthy of his researches. Such was the ardor of his perseverance, that for

a long period he actually lived at the Academy, sleeping within the walls, and only leaving the institution when necessary to obtain his meals. The hours of refreshment were forgotten, and sleep unhesitatingly sacrificed, not as an occasional exertion, but as a permanent and persevering habit. His extraordinary power of concentrating his industry had an effect in producing the peculiar style of his pieces. The manner of writing in which he most delighted, was that of the utmost abridgment of which the subject was capable, cutting off every unnecessary word. It was not that he was incapable of a fluent style, for various parts of his writings demonstrate the contrary, such as some of his contributions to the narrative of the Expedition to the Rocky Mountains; but he seemed to think it an injustice to the reader and to science to detain them from knowledge with the smallest redundancy of language. At the same time this severe judge was far from criticising others with the same rigor which he exercised towards himself, and readily forgave the luxuriance of style in their works. His own manner, when he indulged in his beloved brevity, was certainly liable to the objection of difficulty to untutored readers; but still more, perhaps, to the risk of alarming students by its apparent obscurity, than to the reality, as the knowledge which was requisite was always actually present, though comprised in few words. It is unnecessary to add, that the naturalists are not a few to whom this abridged style is a recommendation.

The communications of Mr. Say to natural science are numerous and of considerable bulk; and their number has probably surprised even some of his acquaintance. They are scattered through a variety of publications, not all devoted to natural history, and one of these even a newspaper; the student finds it impossible, without considerable exertion, to avoid overlooking some of them, and it is too much to be feared that individual memoirs are irrecoverably lost. No estimate of their value, and the labor necessary to produce them, can, however, be founded on their simple bulk; nor can they be compared to others upon such a principle. If we take into view the extreme labor which he uniformly bestowed upon his productions, first to insure their accuracy, and then to compress them within the smallest possible space, the amount of work executed by this indefatigable writer will appear enormously augmented.

But it is not by the rules of arithmetic that the labors of Mr. Say are to be judged in any respect. To form a just idea of the space in public utility occupied by him, it would be desirable, if possible, to

make an estimate of the vacuities which existed in American science, of the judgment which he formed of them, and of the success of his endeavors to fill them. This task we shall not attempt to execute. It was in the immense range of the invertebrals that Mr. Say exhausted his labor.

And among these it may be said, as of a former writer, that he left scarce any department untouched, and none that he touched unimproved. His descriptions of species are most numerous among the annulose and the molluscous animals, although he also made investigations among the radiated, as appears from the list of his publications, and among the entozoary. It is not to be supposed that he exhausted any of these departments: the stores of nature within our country are too extensive, and much, doubtless, remains for future observers. Yet he described the large and laborious numbers which serve for the general materials of classification; he outlined the extended and accurate map, to which the task of making local additions is easy, but which forms the necessary and only guide to those who would make further admeasurements. It is not that there is no more gold in the mine; but in raising his own ore, Mr. Say has constructed the shafts and galleries, pointed out the veins, and indicated by his example the best manner of working them. He laid down the broad masses of coloring, which, however they may be augmented and retouched by the persevering pencil of the future artist, must still form the basis, and in very numerous cases, the perfection of the picture. Every familiar object in these departments, that frequently met the eye, but produced a feeling of dissatisfaction because no description or place for it was to be found in the writers on natural history, received its character from his hands. His task was that of Adam, to name the animals as they passed before him.

His modesty at first induced him to attempt few and isolated species, and departments of small extent; and as time gave him experience of his powers, he ventured farther. A few scattered insects and shells, ascertained to be undescribed, with great labor and precaution first received their characters and names from him. Next he undertook the crustacea of the United States, which he described and classified. He then extended his labor to a larger number of shells, selecting those of the land and of the fresh waters. Next, after despatching several detached and limited groups, he entered among the vast masses of the Insect Kingdom. In this immense field he described a very large number of species, belonging to nearly all its departments. Perhaps, even here we may discover a new

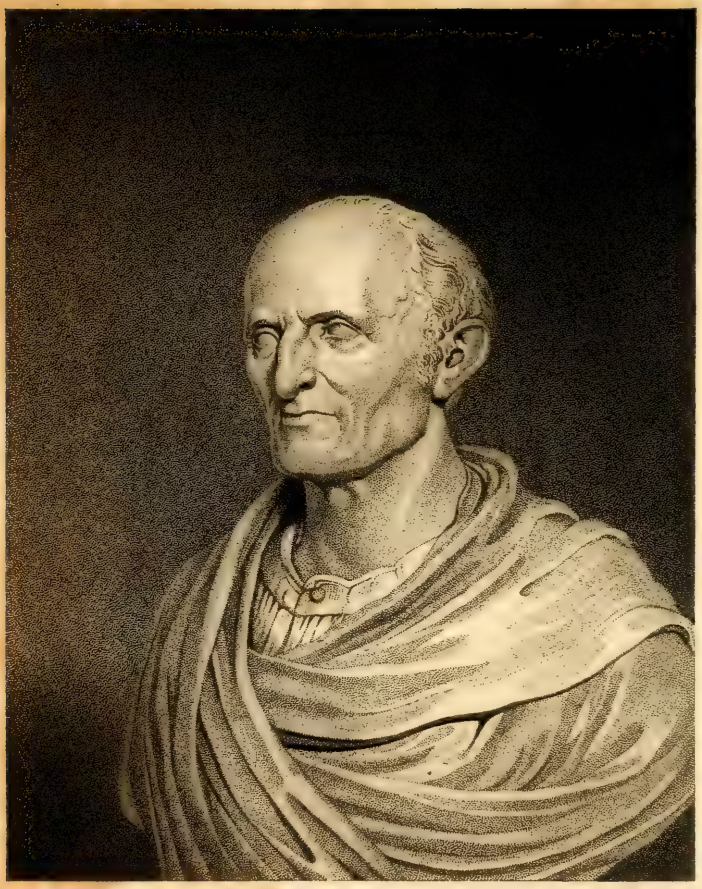
illustration of the character of the man; and a dislike of show may not improbably have been among the reasons which induced him to postpone his attention to the brilliant and popular department of butterflies and moths. Our naturalist had now achieved so much of his task that he could afford to be desultory; and his pieces from this period assume a more diversified character. His share in the two expeditions by Major Long, is truly multifarious. Besides the departments which he considered peculiarly his own, it embraces, as we have already had occasion to observe, a very large amount of matter foreign to his ordinary habits of study, and requiring a different manner of composition. Some of the most interesting portions are those which describe the manners of the Indians. He is the historian of all the facts that were collected in those districts which he traversed with a small detachment of troops under his separate command; he obtained, although not professing philology, the vocabulary of the Killisteno language; and on the expedition to the sources of St. Peter's River, he made the whole of the botanical collections, which afterwards formed the basis of a memoir appended to the published narrative by the late Mr. De Schweinitz. In fossil zoology, his description of new species of the Crinoidea is considered highly valuable. Several other memoirs in this department, in which America until lately presented such a mass of unknown objects, will be found in the catalogue of his papers. Several of Mr. Say's papers appear, however elaborate, to have been at first but little known to naturalists; it appearing to have been his first object in many instances to procure a public record of his papers in print, so as to establish his claims to the date of his discoveries, while at the same time he obtained duplicates to transmit to his learned correspondents; leaving it to subsequent times to republish them, and thus secure their wider diffusion and more easy access.

His natural temper was one of the most amiable ever met with. The phrase was frequent in the mouths of his intimates, that, "it was impossible to quarrel with him." His great respect for his parents, and his compliance with their wishes, have been already mentioned. He was repaid, notwithstanding his retired life and exclusive devotion to science, by a singular strength of attachment on the part of his friends; and we have already spoken of the confidence of Mr. Maclure. His modesty was so retiring, and the wish which he frequently expressed "to save trouble" to others so great, that to men in the habit of living much in the world they might perhaps appear incredible. The contrast of these with surrounding manners, was

occasionally so remarkable as almost to amount to eccentricity and a satire on the times.

It may be interesting to add, that he was tall and spare, but muscular, and apparently endowed, before his health was injured by repeated illness, with considerable strength. This enabled him better to struggle with the fatigues of toilsome journeys and the wasting inactivity of study. His complexion was dark, with black hair.

Mr. Say will always be remembered by those who pursue the study of Zoology as one of the greatest American naturalists; while, at the same time, his fame will be cherished in his native city as one of the most efficient founders and supporters of his favorite academy, and one of the individuals who have contributed most to diffuse a taste for these sciences among the American youth.



Engraved by J. Gross from a drawing by J. B. Longacre after the Bust by Frazee

L. L. D. F. R. S.

Nath.l Bowditch

NATHANIEL BOWDITCH, LL. D. F. R. S.

Of all the various branches of intellectual pursuit, that science which explains the system of the universe, and reveals the mechanism of the heavens, must always take the lead as the most sublime and marvellous; and the foremost and most successful cultivators of this science will always be classed among the greatest of men. What, indeed, can be more astonishing than that a being like one of us, endowed, apparently, with no higher or different powers, should be able to obtain so minute and accurate knowledge of those distant planets, and be as well acquainted with their constitution, elements, and laws, as the geologist, the chemist, the botanist, with the appropriate objects of their sciences? Nothing gives so exalted an idea of the power of man, and the extent and reach of his capacities, as his ability to calculate with unerring precision the distances of those twinkling orbs; to determine their figures, magnitudes, and velocities; to measure their weight, estimate their relative attractions and disturbing forces; delineate their orbits, register their laws of motion, fix the times of their revolution, and predict the periods of their return. To a common mind, uninstructed in the science, there is nothing that appears so much like divine wisdom. A Galileo, a Kepler, a Newton, seem to him to belong to another race, a higher order of beings. They appear to possess some additional faculties.

Nothing can be more certain than the doctrines of Astronomy. They rest on impregnable foundations, on the demonstrations of mathematical evidence, than which nothing, except the evidence of consciousness, can be more satisfactory and conclusive. It was a science that early engaged the notice of men, and it has always exercised a purifying and elevating influence on its votaries. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? Who can look upon those brilliant points, and not fancy them the spangled pavement of a divine abode? There is virtue, as well as poetry and philosophy in them. They shed down a heal-

ing and restorative influence upon their worshippers. They are the symbols of endurance and perpetuity.

Death has recently deprived the scientific world of one of its noblest ornaments—one, who confessedly occupied the most prominent place among the scientific men of this country. His position as a public man, the various posts and offices he filled, and especially the value of his works to the advancement of science, the improvement of navigation, and the security of commercial enterprizes, justify the notice which we now propose to take of his life and character. There was much of that life instructive and encouraging, particularly to the young, the friendless, and the poor: there was much in that character worthy of eulogy and imitation.

Nathaniel Bowditch was born at Salem, Massachusetts, on the 26th day of March, 1773. He was the fourth child of Habakkuk and Mary Ingersoll Bowditch. His ancestors, for three generations, had been shipmasters; and his father, after retiring from that employment, carried on the trade of a cooper, by which he gained a scanty and precarious subsistence for a family of seven children. He enjoyed no other advantages of early instruction than such as could be obtained at the common public schools of his native town, which were at that time very inferior to what they have since become, being wholly inadequate to furnish even the ground-work of a respectable education. It was highly honorable to him that, although he had not himself the benefits of a liberal education, he felt the importance and acknowledged the value of it; and accordingly gave to his children the best which the country afforded, and took a deep interest, and, for many years, an efficient agency in the University at Cambridge. The advantages of school, such as they were, he was obliged to forego at the early age of ten years, that he might go into his father's shop and help to support the family. He was, however, soon transferred as an apprentice to a ship-chandler, in whose shop he continued until he went to sea, first as clerk, afterwards as supercargo, and finally as master and supercargo jointly. It was whilst he was in the ship-chandler's shop that his characteristic attachment to mathematical pursuits first developed itself. Every moment of leisure was given to the slate.

From his earliest years he was a diligent reader; and he has been heard to say that, when quite young, he read through a whole Encyclopedia without omitting a single article.

He sailed on his first voyage on the 11th of January, 1795, at the age of twenty-two, as clerk to Captain Henry Prince on board the

ship Henry, of Salem. The ship sailed for the Isle of Bourbon, and returned home after an absence of exactly a year.

His second voyage was made as supercargo on board the ship Astræa, of Salem. The vessel sailed to Lisbon, touched at Madeira, and then proceeded to Manilla, and arrived at Salem in May, 1797. He made his third voyage the following year, to Cadiz and the Mediterranean. He continued in the same ship, and sailed on his fourth voyage in 1799, to Batavia and Manilla, and returned in 1800. He continued in the East India trade until 1804, when he quitted the sea, and became President of a Marine Insurance Company in Salem.

In the course of these voyages Mr. Bowditch took great interest in the instruction of the sailors, who could read and write, in the principles of navigation; and he never appeared so happy as when he could inspire a sailor with a proper sense of his individual importance, and of the talents he possessed, and might call into action. In this he was remarkably successful; and at Salem it was considered a high recommendation of a seaman that he had sailed with Mr. Bowditch, and it was often sufficient to procure for him an officer's berth.

His attention was directed, at an early age, to the *Principia* of Newton; but as that work was published in Latin, a language which he had not learned, he was obliged to obtain assistance in translating it; but he soon discovered that his own knowledge of the subject, with the aid of the mathematical processes and diagrams on the pages of the work, enabled him to comprehend the reasoning of the author; and by dint of perseverance he acquired a sufficient knowledge of Latin to enable him to read any work of science in it. He afterwards learned French, for the purpose of having access to the treasures of mathematical science in that language; and to indulge his taste for general literature, he studied Spanish, German, and Italian.

It has been stated, in relation to the origin of one of Mr. Bowditch's principal works, that on the day previous to his sailing on his last voyage he was called on by Mr. Edmund M. Blunt, then a noted publisher of charts and nautical books at Newburyport, and requested to continue the corrections which he had previously commenced on John Hamilton Moore's book on navigation, then in common use on board our vessels. This he consented to do; and in performance of his promise he detected such a multitude of errors, that it led to the construction of his "New American Practical Navigator," the first edition of which was published in 1800, and has been of immense service to the nautical and commercial interests of this

country. It is a work abounding with the actual results of his own experience, and containing simple and expeditious formulas for working nautical problems. Had he never done any thing else, he would, by this single act, have conferred a lasting obligation to his native land. Every vessel that sails from the ports of the United States, from Eastport to New Orleans, is navigated by the rules and tables of his book. It is also extensively used in the British and French navies.

In 1802, at the age of twenty-nine, his ship lying wind-bound at Boston, he went out to Cambridge to attend the exercises on commencement day; and whilst standing in one of the aisles of the church, the President announced his name amongst those on whom had been conferred the degree of Master of Arts. The annunciation came upon him wholly by surprise. It was the proudest day of his life; and of all the distinctions which he subsequently received from numerous learned and scientific bodies at home and abroad, there was not one which afforded him half the pleasure, or which he prized so highly, as this degree from Harvard.

In 1806 Mr. Bowditch published his admirable chart of the harbors of Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, and Manchester, the survey of which had occupied him during three summers. This was a work of great exactness and beauty.

On the establishment of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, at Boston, in 1823, he was invited to take charge of it, with the title of Actuary. He accepted of the appointment, and accordingly removed to that city, where he continued to reside till the time of his decease. He discharged the duties of his trust with skill and fidelity, and to the entire satisfaction of the company.

While he resided at Salem, he undertook his translation and commentary on the great work of the French astronomer, La Place, entitled *Mécanique Céleste*. This was the great work of his life. The illustrious author of that work undertakes to explain the whole mechanism of our solar system, to account for all its phenomena, and to reduce all the anomalies in the apparent motions and figures of the planetary bodies to certain definite laws. It is a work of great genius and immense depth, and exceedingly difficult to be comprehended. This arises not merely from the intrinsic difficulty of the subject, and the medium of proof being the higher branches of the mathematics, but chiefly from the circumstance that the author, taking it for granted that the subject would be as plain and easy to others as to himself, very often omits the intermediate steps and connecting links in his

demonstrations. He grasps the conclusion without showing the process. Dr. BOWDITCH used to say, "I never come across one of La Place's '*Thus it plainly appears*,' without feeling sure that I have got hours of hard study before me to fill up the chasm, and find out and show *how* it plainly appears." This gigantic task was begun in the year 1815, and was the regular occupation of his leisure hours to the time of his death. His elucidation and commentaries, while they show him to have been as thoroughly master of the mighty subject as La Place himself, will make that great work—the most profound of modern times—accessible to innumerable students, who, without such aid, would be compelled to forego the use of it. Let it not be said, in disparagement of the labors of Dr. BOWDITCH, that this was not an original work, but merely a translation. Suppose it had been so. What then? Was it not still a benefaction to those who are acquainted only with the English language to bring this great work within their reach? But he did more. It is more than half an original commentary and exposition, simplifying and elucidating what was before complex and obscure; supplying omissions and deficiencies, fortifying the positions with new proofs, and giving additional weight and efficacy to the old ones; and, above all, recording the subsequent discoveries, and bringing down the science to the present time. It has been asserted that La Place, to whom Dr. BOWDITCH sent a list of errors, (which, however, he never had the grace to acknowledge in any way,) once remarked, "I am sure that Dr. BOWDITCH comprehends my work, for he has not only detected my errors, but has shown me how I came to fall into them."

The first volume of the work was published in the year 1829, the second in 1832, and the third in 1834; each volume containing about a thousand quarto pages. The fourth and last volume was nearly completed at the time of his decease. He persevered to the last in his labors upon it; preparing the copy, and reading the proof-sheets in the intervals when he was free from pain. Though the work, on its appearance, met with more purchasers than he expected, yet its cost was a heavy draft on his income, and an encroachment on his little property. Yet it was cheerfully paid; and besides that, he gladly devoted his time, his talents, his health, and his life, to the cause of science and the honor of his native land. *That work is his monument.* He needs no other.

The progress of Dr. BOWDITCH's last illness was so unremitting, that he was not able to complete the final revision of the whole of his great work. The fifth and only remaining volume is, comparatively,

of little importance, and it probably would have had but little revision if he had survived.

Dr. Bowditch was eminently a self-taught and a self-made man. Whatever knowledge he possessed,—and it was great,—was of his own acquiring, the fruit of his solitary studies, with but little assistance from abroad. From his youth up, he was a pattern of industry, enterprise, and perseverance; suffering no difficulties to discourage, no disappointments to dishearten him. He combined qualities and habits which are usually considered incompatible. He was a contemplative, recluse student; and at the same time an active public man. He lived habitually among the stars, and yet he was a shrewd, practical man, and one of the most skilful of financiers. Judging from his published works, it might be supposed he had neither taste nor time for business, or the ordinary affairs of life; and judging from the large concerns which he managed, and the vast funds of which he had the supervision, it would seem impossible he could have had any time for study. He accomplished all by an economy of time, and the regularity of his habits. He was a remarkably domestic man. His affections clustered around his own fireside. His attachment to the calm and simple pleasures of his home was one of the most beautiful traits of his character. His time was divided between his office and his house; he was seldom drawn into company. When at home, he spent his time in his library, which he loved to have considered the family parlor. By very early rising, in winter two hours before light, he was enabled to accomplish much before others were stirring. After taking his evening walk he was again always to be found in the library, pursuing the same attractive studies, but ready and glad, at the entrance of a visiter, to throw aside his book, unbend his mind, and indulge in all the gaieties of a light-hearted conversation. There was nothing that he seemed to enjoy more than the free interchange of thought on all subjects of common interest. At such times the mathematician, the astronomer, the man of science disappeared; and he presented himself as the frank, easy, familiar friend. It was hardly credible that the agreeable, fascinating companion, who talked so affably and pleasantly on all the topics of the day, and joined so heartily in the quiet mirth or the loud laugh, could really be the great mathematician who had expounded the mechanism of the heavens, and taken his place with Newton, and Leibnitz, and La Place, amongst the great proficients in exact science.

Although mathematics was his chief and favorite pursuit, Dr. Bowditch still had a taste for general literature. He was fond of Shak-

speare, and Burns, and Bryant, and Sprague; and remembered and could repeat whole passages from their works.

He was a man of unsullied purity and most rigid integrity; and was always true to his moral as well as intellectual convictions.

From his boyhood, his mind had been religiously impressed. He had read the Bible under the eye of a pious mother, and he loved to repeat the sublime and touching language of Holy Writ.

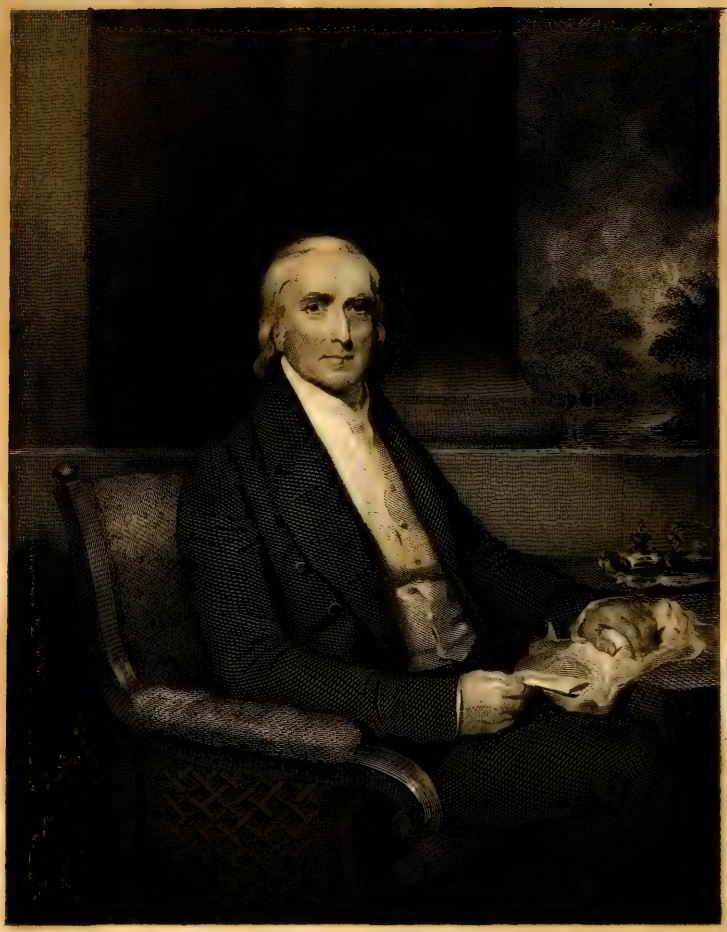
His last days were marked by the same cheerfulness and serenity of mind that we naturally look for on the death-bed of the pure and good. The disease of which he died was a schirrus in the stomach. For four weeks previous to his death, he could take no solid food, and hardly swallowed any liquid. He suffered, however, but little from hunger, but constantly from thirst; and the only relief and refreshment he could find was, in frequently moistening his lips and mouth with cold water. His frame was consequently exceedingly attenuated, and his flesh wasted away. At intervals his sufferings were intense, and the body at times triumphed over the spirit; but it was only for a moment, and the spirit again resumed its legitimate sovereignty. On the morning of his death, when his sight was dim and his voice almost gone, he called his children around his bed-side, and, like the patriarch Jacob, addressed each by name. "You see," said he, "I can distinguish you all, and I now give you my parting blessing. The time is come; Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word." These were his last words. He died on Friday, the 16th day of March, 1838; and was buried privately, on the morning of the following Sabbath, under Trinity Church, in Summer Street, Boston.

Dr. Bowditch twice held a seat in the Executive Council of Massachusetts, under the administration of Governors Strong and Brooks; but he had no taste for public life, no ambition for political honors.

He was admitted a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1799, and was its President from 1829 to the time of his decease. He received his degree of LL. D. from Harvard University in 1816, and was elected a member of the Royal Society of London in 1818. He contributed a great number of valuable papers to the Memoirs of the American Academy, and was the author of the article on Modern Astronomy, in Vol. XX. of the North American Review. There is also a brief account of the comet of 1806 furnished by him, and published in the Monthly Anthology, Vol. IV. He was an active and efficient member of the Boston Atheneum, the

East India Marine Society of Salem, and of several other societies of a literary or benevolent character.

This brief account of the life and character of "*the Great Pilot*" has been condensed from the Rev. Alexander Young's funeral discourse and notes.



Engraved by W. H. Ingram from a painting by H. Inman presented to the Medical Class of the University of Pennsylvania

JOHN SYNG DORSEY M.D.

Dorsey

PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK.

Dr. Philip Syng Physick was born on the 7th of July, 1768, in Third, near Arch street, Philadelphia. His father, Mr. Edmund Physick, was a native of England; and his mother, Miss Syng, the daughter of a highly respectable citizen of Philadelphia, who was one of the early friends and companions of Franklin; and whose name appears on the register of the American Philosophical Society as one of its founders, and also connected with other undertakings of public utility at that period.

The celebrity of Doctor Physick has been so general, that to the American reader it is almost superfluous to state that he was distinguished by a long and brilliant course in Surgery and Medicine; by a deep and universal conviction on the medical and public mind of this country in favor of his skill; and by traits of character so prominent and so peculiar, that the chances are very improbable of their being repeated in any other individual. Even if Nature should renew her production, the difference of circumstances in which it will be placed, from the immense changes constantly and rapidly occurring in our social state, will prevent the same mode and degree of development.

The subject of our memoir received his academic education from Robert Proud, in "Friends' Academy," and during the time lived in the family of Mr. John Tod, the father-in-law of the present Mrs. Madison. He then entered the classical department of the University of Pennsylvania, and obtained his knowledge of the languages from Mr. James Davidson, one of the best scholars of his day, No small fondness for these his earlier studies remained with him to the end of his life.

Having passed honorably through his college studies, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His father now considered him ready to engage in the study of medicine, and placed him under the charge

of the late Dr. Adam Kuhn one of the most learned and successful physicians of that day.

His first introduction to anatomy excited strongly his aversion and disgust to the profession of medicine—it was the boiling of a skeleton in the Medical College in Fifth street, now the Health Office. He returned home, and implored his father to change his destination ; it was all in vain. Finding his father thus inexorable, he began his medical studies in earnest.

When twenty years of age, in 1788, his father took him to London, and succeeded in fixing him under the direction of Mr. John Hunter, the great surgeon of the day ; and now looked upon as the first medical man that the British empire has produced, his posthumous reputation having gone vastly beyond any that he ever had, when alive.

Being placed in a dissecting-room, he distinguished himself in a short time by his assiduity, and by the neatness and success of his dissections ; he became a favorite with Mr. Home, the assistant in the rooms, and also with Mr. Hunter. The confidence and partiality of the latter were exhibited in the year 1790, while he was still a student under him, by Mr. Hunter using great exertions, and successfully, to get him elected House Surgeon to St. George's Hospital.

In the year 1791 he received his diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons in London. After which he visited Edinburgh, and having spent a winter there, took out the degree of Doctor of Medicine in the University, in 1792. In the latter part of the same year he returned home, highly instructed in his profession ; after having declined offers by his preceptor Mr. Hunter, of a promising and advantageous kind, for him to settle in London, this course was probably influenced in some degree by his health, which the climate and atmosphere of that metropolis did not suit.

The year 1793 brought him distinctly and prominently into public notice. The premonitory indications of a fatal epidemic being on the approach, were but too faithfully verified, when, on the 19th of August, the celebrated Rush announced to his fellow-citizens that a malignant and mortal fever had broken out among them. This startling intelligence, whereby the repose of the public mind was disturbed, was received with the agitation and surprise created by some unexpected convulsion of nature ; by some it was discredited, and strong indignation expressed against its author. The celerity, however, with which the disease invaded the several walks of life, left no room for disputation, and all that remained to be done, was to make the best possible arrangements for its visitation. Among the measures of the

day, recommended by the College of Physicians on the 27th of August, and carried into immediate effect, was the providing a large and airy hospital in the neighborhood of the city, for the reception of such poor persons as could not be accommodated with suitable advantages in private houses. The erection of the Bush Hill Hospital was the result of this recommendation; and Dr. PHYSICK having offered his services, was chosen physician of the same. He left his lodgings in town, entered immediately upon his new duties, and continued in the exercise of them till the disease had passed away.

In the year 1794 he was appointed a prescribing physician in the Philadelphia Dispensary, and a surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital; the public confidence was also exhibited by his practice increasing with no ordinary rapidity.

A recurrence of the yellow fever as an epidemic, in 1798, led again to a performance of similar duties in the Bush Hill Hospital. The zeal and fidelity with which he went through these, were recognised in the presentation of some elegant pieces of silver plate. Their cost was upwards of one thousand dollars, and they bore the following inscription :—

"From the Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals, to
PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK, M. D.
As a mark of their respectful approbation of his voluntary and inestimable services, as Resident Physician at the City Hospital
in the calamity of 1798."

On Sept. 18th, 1800, he married Miss Emlen, the daughter of a gentleman of learning, distinction, and wealth, and who belonged to the very respectable Society of Friends. She died in 1820, leaving four chidren now alive—two sons and two daughters.

In 1805, the chair of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania having been made a distinct one, he was elected to it; the success of his operations and lectures in the Pennsylvania Hospital, is considered to have created and established this change.

In July, 1819, he resigned his chair of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, and was appointed to that of Anatomy, vacated, the preceding November, by the death of his nephew, Dr. Dorsey.

The latest of his appointments was in 1836, when he was elected an honorary fellow of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London, and soon after received his diploma; he is said to have been very much pleased with this mark of respect from a city where his early studies had been conducted.

The earliest commendatory notice of him is found in the Treatise on the Blood by his preceptor, John Hunter. The latter wishing to arrive at some general conclusions on certain phenomena of the blood, as to its coagulability and putrescence under several conditions named, performed experiments on the subject, which were rather incomplete and unsatisfactory to himself; to verify, however, what he had done, he says, "Many of these experiments were *repeated* by my desire by Dr. PHYSICK, now of Philadelphia, when he acted as house-surgeon to St. George's hospital, whose accuracy I could depend upon."

In 1793 he, in conjunction with Dr. Cathrall, made several dissections of persons dead of yellow fever, which proved its inflammatory character, and that its principal violence fell on the stomach. These observations were not absolutely new, because they had been preceded by similar ones by Dr. Mitchill, in his account of the yellow fever of Virginia in 1737 and 1741, and by corresponding ones in the West Indies. They had, however, an important local influence in correcting the prevailing notions of the disease, by proving, that so far from being one of debility, it presented the highest possible grade of inflammation,—one exactly similar to what is produced by acrid poisons, as arsenic, introduced into the stomach. The principle was thus established, that the reputed putrid phenomena were merely the expression of the gastric inflammation, and that the proper treatment was precisely the reverse of what had obtained.

To this advance in the therapeutic indications of a disease so fatal and so terrifying, was added one of a most important prophylactic or preventive kind. At a time when it was perilous to the practice, as well as to the reputation for sanity of any physician, to assert that the yellow fever was generated among us and not imported, he had the manliness and dignity to declare openly this obnoxious truth. He also admonished the people, that the true protection from such visitations, was not in establishing an empty system of quarantine laws, and thereby interrupting foreign commerce, but in cleanliness at their own doors and along their own wharves. These were the views taken and enforced at the same time, by the eloquence and fervor of a Rush. To this idea, constantly urged upon public attention, are to be traced the very complete and effective arrangements for supplying the city of Philadelphia with water, by applying, if required, the whole current of the Schuylkill to the purpose.

To the walks of Surgery, however, we must look for the genius of PHYSICK in its most decided and extensive application. It is there that we find it exhibiting a series of triumphs over cases of dis-

ease which had baffled the skill of men only inferior to himself and it is there that it was most active in inventions to improve and to palliate established modes of treatment. His management of diseased joints by perfect rest, elevation, and diet, is a happy substitute for the errors generated under the use of the term scrofula or white swelling, and ending either by amputation or in death—sometimes in both. His treatment of the inflammation of the hip-joint in children (coxalgia), by a splint, low diet, and frequent purging, exhibits another of those successful innovations upon ordinary practice. His invention of an appropriate treatment and cure for that loathsome disease, artificial anus, which invention has been so unceremoniously modified and claimed by a distinguished French surgeon, the late Baron Dupuytren, is a proof of the activity and resources of his professional mind. Another invention, still more frequent in its employment, from the greater number of such cases, is the application of the seton to the cure of fractures of bones refusing to unite. Other inventions are found in the treatment of mortification by blisters; of anthrax by caustic alkali; the ligature of kid skin for arteries in excisions of the female breast. To him, also, we owe the original act, if not invention, of pumping out the stomach in cases of poisoning; also an improvement in the treatment of fractures of the condyles of the os humeri, so as to render the restoration perfect. We might in this way go on to enumerate many other points of excellence about him; but, however appropriate it might be to offer a complete exposition of them, the space allotted to a memoir of this kind must prohibit a more extensive and complete annunciation. Those who have had an opportunity of witnessing his practice extensively, will at least conclude with us in saying, *Nihil tetigit, quod non ornavit.*

With this great fertility in invention and ardor in the prosecution of his profession, his original papers, as published, are few, and they are also very short.

Lecturing for many years on Surgery, his chief organ of publicity was his class of students. The Elements of Surgery, published by his nephew, Dr. Dorsey, contain the most perfect account of his opinions and practice up to that period.

To the preceding claims to professional veneration, were united physical qualifications of the most perfect kind. He had a correct, sharp, and discriminating eye; a hand delicate in its touch and movement, and which never trembled or faltered; an entire composure and self-possession, the energy of which increased upon an unexpected emergency. He had a forethought of all possible contingencies and

demands during a great operation, and therefore had every thing prepared for it; when performed, he entered upon a most conscientious discharge of his duty to the patient, and watched him with a vigilance and anxiety which never remitted till his fate was ascertained.

If to the foregoing brilliant qualities as an operator, and the loud plaudits which attended their exercise, we add a chastening of feeling which subdued every sentiment of vanity and regulated entirely his judgment; and that he had an invincible repugnance, a horror at engaging in dangerous operations through ostentation, and where the probabilities of cure were not largely in favor of the patient; we have in this summary the most perfect example of a surgeon which this country has ever seen. But as these great points and striking professional landmarks seldom come in clusters, it will probably be long in the course of Providence before there will be a re-union of all the same excellent qualities.

His operation for the stone on Chief Justice Marshall, in 1831, was the last of his great efforts. He anticipated it with much anxiety, but when brought to the point, he rallied finely—every thing was, as usual, in readiness. The unexpected turn given to the operation by the almost incredible number, probably a thousand, of small calculi which he met with, and their adhesion to the internal coat of the bladder, did not disconcert him in the slightest degree. He in a little time detected the existing state of things, and they were brought to a successful conclusion, being followed by a complete cure. This operation was the more interesting from the distinction of its two principal personages; the one, the acknowledged head of the legal profession, and the other of the medical; and both sustaining themselves, though in advanced life, by that tone of moral firmness and dignity which had advanced them from inconsiderable beginnings to the stations which they then occupied.

Dr. Physick was of middling stature, and not inclined to corpulence even at his best periods of health. His bust was a remarkably fine one; he had a well-formed head and face, the expression of the latter being thoughtful and pensive, sometimes enlivened in conversation by a smile, but very seldom so spontaneously. His nose was aquiline and thin; and his eye hazel, well-formed, vivid, and searching—his gaze seemed sometimes to penetrate into the very interior of the body. His eye acquired additional effect from his pallid, fixed, and statue-like face. His hands were small, delicate, and flexible. He dressed with great neatness: his clothes being put on with an exact attention to the process, and being from year to year of a uniform cut. Many, no

doubt, remember the very admirable and characteristic appearance imparted to his physiognomy and head by the use of hair powder, and how this almost solitary remnant among the gentlemen of Philadelphia, of an ancient fashion, seemed to be in entire harmony with his own individuality of mind and of reputation.

Dr. PHYSICK's traits as a teacher corresponded with other points in his character. His course of Surgery, upon which his reputation was founded in an especial manner, was eminently practical and instructive. He did not pretend to range over the whole field of this science, but limited himself to topics of daily occurrence, or at least such as might be expected in the practice of any medical man. Relying upon his own experience and habits of observation, he had but little to do with the opinions of others; he quoted them rarely, and never in such a way as to leave the point unsettled by an array of opposite authorities. His opinions were for the most part founded upon deep reflection, and were decided in one way or another; he never leaned to one side and inclined to another, so as to neutralise his weight; he either admitted entire want of information, or considered himself in possession of the requisite degree of it. This tone of sentiment pervading his lectures, they were most eminently didactic, and were listened to with a thorough conviction of their correctness; indeed, such was his authority, that it was held almost indisputable—to oppose it, was to brand one's self with folly.

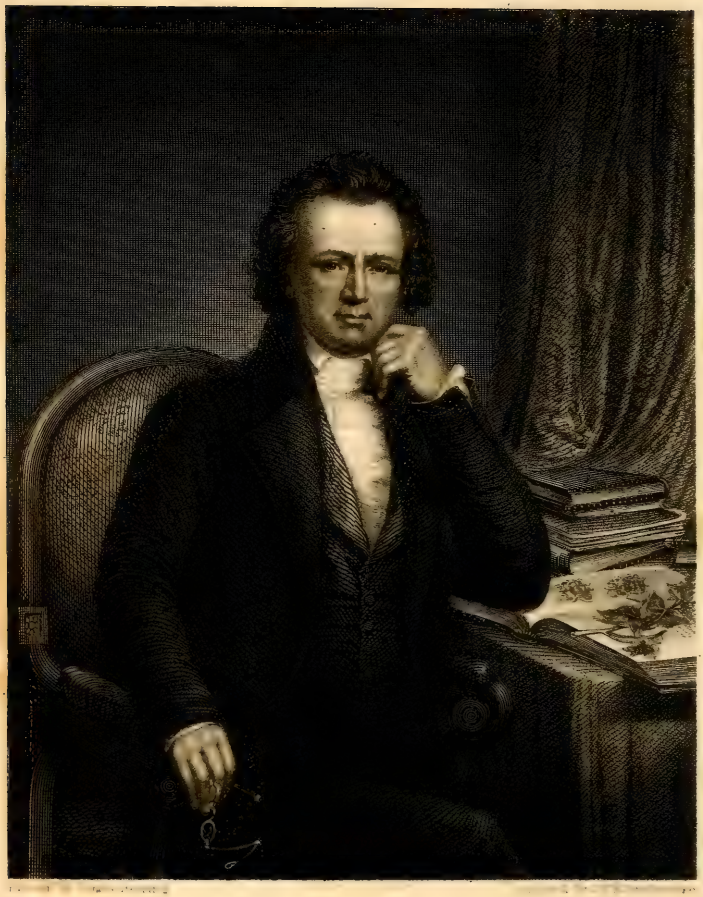
He decidedly preferred studying every thing for himself in the laboratory of Nature, beginning his analysis of the human machine in a dissecting-room, and solving the problem of its disorders and their cure in a hospital. The proposition in every disease he considered as limiting itself to the positive experience of what had done good and what had done harm. His consultations always assumed this character.

As his opinions were, for the most part, formed with deliberation, so they were retained with firmness; and they, like his habits, were durable to an extreme. This we may account for, inasmuch as they were never taken up on capricious grounds, but always upon the most scrupulous examination of proof. He required, too, personal proof, such as would satisfy his understanding, through his eyes, his ears, and his touch. Naturally exact, systematic, and persevering, these traits were fully developed by his education and training.

Not being given to expressions of sentimentalities, his cold and steady manner was mistaken by some for apathy: he felt, however, acutely, when not the slightest external indication of it appeared. He was always anxious and excited when preparing for a great operation, and

when it was finished, spent sometimes the remainder of the day in bed, in order to recover and tranquilize himself. The death of patients not unfrequently laid him up, from the excess of his sensibilities.

Having undergone a protracted illness, which reduced him to a most suffering and debilitated state, he died on the 13th of December, 1837, being in his seventieth year. He was interred in Christ Church burying-ground, corner of Fifth and Arch streets, Philadelphia, with the strongest expressions of public respect.



John W. Francis.

JOHN W. FRANCIS, M.D.

Professional life, especially in young republican America, is often diversified; but the physician's is, perhaps, less frequently so than that of any of the members of the three liberal pursuits to which academic honors are awarded. Medical men, from the very nature of their studies, and the active cares in which they are involved in the subsequent discharge of their responsible trusts, necessarily pass their existence rather within the secluded chambers of the sick and afflicted, than before the gaze and immediate observation of the multitude. But, in defiance of this restriction, the cultivators of the venerable art of healing have been justly accounted among that class of individuals whose daily vocations lead to a substantial acquaintance with human nature, and the principles of human action; while their peculiar energies are ever directed to investigations, embracing a multitudinous variety of circumstances by which sound science is increased, and the lasting interests of society better secured. Knowledge, therefore, in the medical profession, serves not only to dignify its rank, but in the exercise of its powers becomes the agent of innumerable blessings to society; and is elevated equally by the importance of its ultimate object, and by those qualifying attainments which render their possessor the efficient instrument of its philanthropic designs.

There is, besides, in the history of physic, abundant evidence to show how much the advancement of man has been furthered by the professors of the healing art; how greatly the interests of humanity have been promoted by their efforts; how largely the charities of life, an elevated literature and exalted science have been aided by the broad foundations of public institutions, in which physicians have borne a prominent part. The annals of Continental and of British medicine demonstrate this truth; nor are examples wanting in our own country of similar establishments, generously cherished by this order of men. Hence, though the transactions of one day in the physician's career

seldom differ from those of another, the lives of eminent professors in the medical faculty become worthy of notice; they are the guardians of the public health, and they deserve to rank among public characters; and he, who possesses a deep and enthusiastic veneration for the art, and while, in the daily exercise of its salutary precepts fosters, the cause of learning and the general welfare of his species, merits, at our hands, some recorded testimonial of his actions.

Among the many living examples in the United States of those in that profession, who by their acquisitions adorn the science of physic; who, by the faithful and conscientious performance of its arduous duties, have conferred benefits of acknowledged importance upon humanity; and by the publication of the results of experience have added to the medical literature of their country, the respectable individual, whose name is at the head of this biographical sketch, occupies a conspicuous place.

John W. Francis, M. D. was born in the city of New-York on the 17th of November, 1789. His father, Melchior Francis, who came to this country shortly after the peace of 1783, was a German from Nuremberg, well known in New-York as an enterprizing, upright grocer, of an enthusiastic temperament, and of a liberal and charitable spirit, whose career of usefulness was suddenly arrested by death from yellow fever in 1795, in the 35th year of his age. His mother was a native of Pennsylvania; her family, of the name of Somer, were originally from Bern, in Switzerland from whom there are numerous descendants in this country, now residing in the above-named State. Her children were mere infants when her husband died; but she was left in circumstances sufficiently easy to give them a good education. John, the eldest, after receiving the common early instruction, was sent to a school of no little reputation under the charge of the Reverend George Strebeck, with whom he commenced the study of mathematics and the Latin language, and afterward continued his classical pursuits under the direction of the Reverend John Conroy, a profound scholar, and a distinguished graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. By the aid of this excellent teacher he was enabled to enter an advanced class in Columbia College, where, in 1809, he received the degree of Bachelor, and in 1812 that of Master of Arts.

While an under-graduate, the subject of this memoir, having resolved to adopt the medical profession, devoted a portion of his time to its studies; he was enabled to accomplish this by a strong natural capacity, and by an ardor and perseverance which have marked his whole course of life; he had not only mental energy, but a vigorous con-

stitution, which sustained his intense application in the acquisition of knowledge.

In 1807, then still an under-graduate as above-mentioned, he commenced his professional studies with the late Dr. David Hosack, the able and eloquent teacher, at that time professor of Materia Medica and Botany in Columbia College, and among those most entensively engaged in the practice of physic in New-York. Under this eminent preceptor Mr. Francis had ample opportunities of witnessing the principles of the art illustrated by their practical application. During the period of his professional studies for four collegiate years, he never absented himself from a single lecture, nor attended one without making notes or abstracts on the subject taught by the lecturer. His clinical knowledge was also much increased by a constant attendance at the New-York Hospital, then enjoying the rich experience of Drs. Post, Kissam, Stringham, and others; and at the City Almshouse, an extensive charity, the medical department of which was under the management of Drs. Hosack and Macneven, the clinical instructors.

Several laws for the greater improvement of medical science were enacted about this period by the Legislature of the State of New-York. County Medical Societies had been formed the year before, and promised much advantage to the cause of professional learning. The College of Physicians and Surgeons, under the authority of the Regents of the University, was organized in 1807. From this institution, in 1811, Mr. Francis received the degree of M. D. This was at the first commencement of that school under the Presidency of Dr. Samuel Bard, and the subject of this memoir was the first graduate who recorded his name in the College Album. Dr. Francis's inaugural thesis was a dissertation on mercury, embracing its medical history, curative action, and abuse in disease. His researches were extensive, while many of his views were novel and profound, and have since been confirmed by the philosophical inquiries of British and other foreign practitioners. This production acquired for him great credit at once among his fellow graduates and the faculty generally; it has been repeatedly noticed by different writers in various languages, and maintains its reputation at the present day.

Dr. Francis had been in practice a few months only, when his late preceptor proposed to him a co-partnership in business. This proposition, from the high standing of Dr. Hosack, was too flattering to be declined. This connection lasted till 1820, since which time Dr. Francis has continued in practice by himself.

From the first organization of the College of Physicians and Sur-

geons, the professorial chairs were filled by men of acknowledged learning and ability most of whom were much distinguised as teachers.

In the spring of 1813 Dr. Francis received from the trustees of the institution the appointment of lecturer on the Institutes of Medicine and Materia Medica. Shortly after this period, an union being effected between the rival institutions, the medical faculty of Columbia College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons, he received from the regents the professorship of Materia Medica. He delivered his first public course of instruction to a class of one hundred and twenty students, declining all compensation for his services, that the consolidation of two schools of medicine, which had brought together so numerous a body of professors, might not too much enhance the price of education to those who wished to attend a full course of lectures. About this time he published a historical account of the College, with a syllabus or outline of the several courses of lectures. The students of this new school, upon its chartered establishment, had formed themselves into a medical society, similar to that at the University of Edinburgh, to improve their minds by weekly discussions on medical and surgical subjects. The President of the Society, which was termed the Medico-Chirurgical Society, was chosen from the professors of the College; and for many years Dr. Francis was elected to preside over it, succeeding in this appointment the learned Dr. Mitchill.

Strongly impressed with the conviction that the city of New-York possessed all the requisites for a great medical school, alive to the importance of an extended system of medical education, and cheered by the rising prospects of the institution to which he was attached, Dr. Francis resolved to visit Europe, having in view, as well to profit by the lessons of instruction afforded by the old world, as to transfer, as far as lay within his power, what was valuable and practicable to the new. While in London he became a pupil of the illustrious Abernethy, and witnessed the practice of St. Bartholomew's hospital; attended the lectures of Brande at the Royal Institution, those of Pearson at St. George's hospital, &c. Between Abernethy and Francis there sprung up so strong an attachment, that the former offered the latter a share of his business, which at that time was oppressively extensive.

According to a memoir to which this biographical sketch is much indebted,* besides England, Dr. Francis visited Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and France.

With eager curiosity he examined most that was rare and promi-

* New England Magazine, vol. 7th.

nent in these countries. His letters gave him access to scholars and men of science wherever he travelled. In Edinburgh he shared the hospitality of the great professors, and visited their schools so renowned for practical wisdom. Here he listened to the eloquent and classical lectures on medicine of Dr. James Gregory, and the able expositions of Professor Jamieson on the Wernerian formations; and witnessed the early experiments of the philosophic Brewster, in his private study, on the polarization of light. In Dublin he was received with true Irish cordiality; and found in the anatomical preparations of McCartney, specimens which rival even those of John Hunter. Regarding his professional object as the most important one of his mission, he was obliged to resist the strong impulse which prompted him to pass beyond the Rhine; and most reluctantly turned his back upon the country, toward which, as the land of his fathers, he felt the dutiful yearnings of a son; and for which, as the birth-place of Herder, Schiller, and Goethe, he entertained the reverence of a scholar. In Holland, the anatomical theatre where Ruysch once taught, and the garden where Boerhaave once displayed the harmonies of the vegetable kingdom, awakened to recollection the glories which have long since departed. In France, with Denon, he viewed in his cabinet, and in those institutions under his care, all that was magnificent in the arts. Gall displayed to him the rich materials of his collections, on which he founded his system of craniology; while the "Jardin des Plantes," under the direction of M. Thouin, gave him new ardor for a knowledge of the wonders of creation. With Cuvier he examined the objects more intimately connected with his own profession.

We are not wanting in proofs of the enthusiasm and success with which the subject of this article prosecuted his European tour. It was such as to excite the notice of many of his most enlightened foreign acquaintances. One thus speaks: "I feel much gratified by the opportunity you afforded me of making the acquaintance of Dr. Francis. A mind more ardent in the pursuit of useful knowledge perhaps never existed; and I have no doubt he will, in a few years, stand at the head of his profession. I introduced him to my son-in-law, Dr. Yeates, who is an able and learned physician; he entertains a high opinion of your friend's talents, and I am sure will at all times be happy in the opportunity of being useful to him."* Dr. Francis is warm in his admiration of those lights of knowledge he everywhere encountered in his travels; but though enamoured with the learned

* Letter of the late Patrick Colquhoun, author of the Police of London, &c. Life of Eddy, by S. L. Knapp.

men he met in different countries, his political affections were wedded to his own ; and in the midst of his European attachments, he was still a republican in his principles.

On his return to New-York he found that some changes had been made in the disposition of the professorships in the College ; the duties of the chair of Materia Medica had been added to that of Chemistry. He was at once appointed by the Regents of the University professor of the Institutes of Medicine. On the death of Dr. Stringham, in 1817, the department of Medical Jurisprudence, heretofore taught with applause by that gentleman, was assigned to Dr. Francis. Another change took place in 1819, by resignation, by which Dr. Francis became Professor of Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence. This appointment he held until 1826, when he resigned, at the same time with his colleagues, Drs. Hosack, Mott, Mcneven, and Mitchill ; Dr. Post had given up the professorship of Anatomy a short time previously. The board of regents accepted the resignation of the faculty, and presented them their thanks " for the faithful and able manner in which they had filled their respective chairs as instructors and lecturers in said College."

During the same year in which the resignation of the professors of the College of Physicians and Surgeons occurred, a majority of them founded and organized a new institution at their individual expense, under the name of Rutgers' Medical College. In the place of Professor Post, Anatomy and Physiology was assigned to the late distinguished Dr. Godman, who, at the instance of Professor Francis, left Philadelphia for a larger sphere of usefulness and profit. The success of this new school for four terms was triumphant, at the end of which period the legislative wisdom of the State thought proper to close the doors of the College. It is believed that every friend and patron of sound practical medicine now admits that the interests of medical learning sustained a severe loss by this measure.

In the Rutgers' Medical College Dr. Francis was chosen Professor of Obstetrics and Forensic Medicine. In the number of pupils, his classes were second only to those of Anatomy, which are always most fully attended in every well-arranged medical institution. The close relationship between many parts of the physiological portion of a course of instruction on Obstetrics, with numerous topics discussed in legal medicine, justified, on the part of the professor, repeated disquisitions of the most interesting nature; and these, by an ample museum, were made the more clear and satisfactory. In his third edition of the work of Dr. Denman, a large amount of medico-legal facts and opi-

nions is introduced; and in the same volume is embraced his history of the Obstetric art, from the time of the ancients to that of the latest writers on the subject, which has received the approbation both of the erudite and the practical. The number of students under his care while he was connected with the institutions above-named, was probably greater than that of any other professor in the city. He devoted from four to six hours a day to public and private instruction in the several departments of the science; other portions of time were devoted to the labor of practice. With the termination of all collegiate duties, he resolved to confine his attention to the practice of physic exclusively. In his parting address to his public class, he stated the causes which would thereafter dissolve the relationship of pupil and preceptor, paid the tribute of grateful respect to the magnanimous patrons by whom the College had been countenanced, and held up to admiration and example that guardian genius of all establishments for the diffusion of useful knowledge,—Dewitt Clinton.

Dr. Francis's early introduction to practice and teaching, however laborious and anxious the task, led not to the neglect of those intervals of leisure which occur in the lives of all. Convinced that the charms of medical reading, and the diffusion of medical and scientific knowledge, would both be promoted by the establishment of a new periodical journal in New-York, he, while a student, united with his preceptor, Dr. Hosack, and issued, in 1810, a prospectus for the American Medical and Philosophical Register. This work was published quarterly, and continued for four years. It was filled almost entirely with original materials. After the completion of the fourth volume, the editors assumed the responsibility of the work, and announced their names. In conjunction with the late Dr. Dyckman and Dr. Beck, he was for some time editor of the New-York Medical and Physical Journal, which was projected in 1822. He continued as one of the editors until the termination of the third volume. This work contains a number of his medical observations and records.

Dr. Francis has written papers, in many different medical and scientific journals in the United States, on subjects connected with his profession: among the most prominent of these, and of a practical nature, are his observations on the use of vitriolic emetics in croup, with details of cases in which this remedy was effective after the formation of the adventitious membrane lining the trachea. This novel method of cure has since often proved successful in other hands in this country, and has recently been adopted abroad: remarks on the goitre as it prevails in the western parts of New-York and Canada:

cases of ovarian disease; on the medicinal properties of the sanguinaria Canadensis: history of a remarkable case of a diverticulum of the ilium: cases in morbid anatomy: facts and inferences in medical jurisprudence: on phlegmasia dolens occurring in the male subject; on caries of the lower jaw in children: on elaterium and croton oil: cases of icthyosis: observations on the mineral waters of Avon in Livingston County, New-York, deduced from chemical experiments and medicinal trials. His letter on febrile contagion, dated in London, 1816, and addressed to Dr. Hosack, contains an exposition of certain British writers, on the insusceptibility of the human constitution to a second attack of the yellow fever. This curious fact concerning the nature of this disease in certain latitudes, which was strongly maintained by various authors of Great Britain and the West Indies, received additional support, in many striking cases, from the observations which this letter brought to light, that had been made by many American physicians upon the pestilence in different seaports of the United States. Other papers might be referred to containing his clinical opinions; his reflections upon the nature and treatment of scarlet fever and other disorders may be found in the improved edition of Good's Study of Medicine edited by Dr. Doane.

State medicine, or that division of science which comprehends the principles of evidence afforded by the different branches of medicine, in elucidating and determining questions in courts of law, had been long and advantageously taught in German and other continental universities, when, in 1807, the chair of Medical Jurisprudence was founded at the University of Edinburgh, and Dr. Duncan, Jun., appointed Professor. The following year Dr. Stringham, who had graduated at that school, gave a course of lectures, the first delivered in the United States, on the same subject, in the college at New-York. As his successor, Dr. Francis was among the earliest teachers in the United States of this important and now generally cultivated department of knowledge. But it was not merely as a teacher that he exhibited the extent of his inquiries and practical researches in forensic medicine, and enlisted the enthusiasm of the student. During the greater part of his professional career, in almost every case of criminal prosecution in our judicial courts, his opinions have been solicited, and have seldom or ever been the subject of doubt or controversy. Dr. Francis invariably availed himself of the deductions which anatomy and pathology afford.

Nor have either his studies or his writings been confined to subjects strictly professional. Several of his biographical notices are valuable

contributions to the stock of elegant and general literature: these sketches are drawn with a free and manly hand, with faithfulness and discrimination. Among the most valuable of them may be mentioned his account of Cadwallader Colden, one of the earliest practitioners of physic in New-York; those of Edward Miller, Benjamin Rush, Archibald Bruce; James S. Stringham, Thomas Eddy. His record of Samuel L. Mitchill, in the first volume of the National Portrait Gallery, is an honorable testimony to the memory of that remarkable man, whose genius and character will be more highly valued the longer his merits are contemplated. The occasional addresses of Dr. Francis are written with taste and spirit united with candor and good feeling. His address to the New-York Horticultural Society, in elegant language, portrays the beauties of nature adorned by art. The oration before the literary societies of Columbia College, in May, 1831, exhibits an important outline of the life and services of that distinguished patriot, the late Chancellor Livingston. The venerable President Madison transmitted a letter of approbation to the author, for the service he had rendered to American Biography, by his interesting account of the revolutionary patriot.* His discourse at the opening of the new hall of the Lyceum of Natural History, as yet but partially in print, is perhaps his most extensive production. It was delivered in December, 1836: its object is to recommend the cultivation of the natural sciences, and to bring together the most striking and important facts yet made known, concerning the natural history and physical resources of the new world.

The humane physician is perhaps more exposed than any other member of society to taxes on his time and benevolence: in seasons of pestilence and calamity, the claims of charity are not to be slighted or avoided. The later visitations of the yellow fever, and of the malignant cholera, bear witness to his sensibility to the cause of humanity, and to his intrepid discharge of his duties. His clinical views of the new Asiatic plague, as it prevailed in New-York in 1832, in which city it entombed upwards of four thousand inhabitants, are published in a letter to Dr. Reed of Savannah. This letter was so favorably received at that anxious period, that more than one hundred thousand copies, in various forms, were circulated in different sections of the Union. In France it excited the attention of professional men; and the authorities at Havanna, when the cholera appeared there, had the pamphlet translated into the Spanish language, and widely diffused through the island of Cuba.

* This biography is re-published in the 3d volume of this work.

Dr. Francis has been honored with membership in many humane, literary, and scientific societies at home and abroad, and is in correspondence with several of their associates.

The foregoing sketch of Dr. Francis exhibits a life more active than eventful, but evidently one that would have been far more eventful had it been less active. Engaged in the duties of a laborious profession, in a great city, at the early age of twenty, and soon after called upon to apply all his unexpended energies to sustain and advance the reputation of a newly-established medical school, and to assist in editing a medical journal, he could have found but little leisure for unbroken study, or the preparation of elaborate treatises on the art to which he is devoted. Untiring activity in his proper vocation, and scrupulous devotion to its claims, have characterized his whole professional career. The hope of being able to relieve his suffering fellow-beings has ever been sufficient to call forth every exertion, and every sacrifice in his power to make. The call of poverty has always been as loud in his ear, and has been answered with as much alacrity, as that of wealth. It is well known that his services and his contributions to the relief of distress, would together amount to sums surpassing the charities of many men of the largest means. There are many extraordinary traits in the character of the subject of this memoir, which have scarcely been touched upon from its necessary brevity; among them none more remarkable than the facility and fidelity with which he goes through his duties; the every-day demands constantly develope in him an energy, a power of endurance, and a disregard to personal comfort, that are called forth in others only by great emergencies and trying occasions. The amount of labor performed by him is almost unexampled; he accomplishes more of every thing, and besides has more of social enjoyment, than most others. It is the same with his mind as with his body: no drafts upon it exhaust its power, its stock is always at command. The possessor of such a mind must naturally sigh for a release from the thraldom of professional toil, and the liberty to expatiate freely and widely in the regions of thought. If such a boon is ever earned by years of faithful service, and benevolent exertion in the cause of humanity, Dr. Francis will not fail of obtaining it; and we know that he would ask for himself no higher reward, nor would we ask for him greater glory, or for science more honor, than he would confer upon her, could he be allowed to enjoy it.

Engraved by C. Parker from a Portrait by Jane Sharpe

L. H. Sigourney

LYDIA HUNTLEY SIGOURNEY.

Mrs. Sigourney was born in Norwich, Connecticut. Her father, Mr. Ezekiel Huntley, was the owner of a small property, which he cultivated in that happy spirit of contentment with his lot, which in ancient times would have entitled him to the appellation of a philosopher. In truth he was something better—a Christian, humble in his wishes, and devoted to his duties. The mother of Mrs. Sigourney was a woman of strong powers of mind, and possessed of a warm and vivid fancy; but the secluded situation in which she lived, and the few opportunities for intellectual improvement which she had enjoyed, made her very diffident of her own abilities. However, superior talents will in some way be manifested. Mrs. Huntley evinced hers by the sedulous attention and care which she bestowed on her daughter. Lydia was the only child of her parents; it is not strange, therefore, that she should have been nurtured with exceeding care and tenderness; but the superiority of her mother was shown in inculcating early and constantly, habits of order and diligence in the pursuits of the young mind she was forming; and which habits the distinguished poetess has since found of inestimable advantage.

We think the worldly condition in which the early life of Mrs. Sigourney was passed, exceedingly favorable to the development of her peculiar faculties. Placed in that safe mediocrity of fortune which the wisest of men invoked as a choice blessing, a state which requires industry yet admits of hope, she was naturally inclined to prepare for the future, rather than to seek enjoyment in the present. Even the lonelinesss of her brotherless and sisterless lot probably induced the substitution of intellectual pursuits for the common sports of childhood. These influences, though they chastened and elevated her mind, may have somewhat saddened her fancy; and hence the musings of her genius almost always appear in the pensive or moralizing form.

We feel, while reading her sweet effusions, as though the beauty of

holiness could not rest so purely on the bright living brow, crowned with flowers, as on the pale cheek of the dead. This predominance of the grave and solemn, as regards the influence of her poetry on the world of active life, is undoubtedly a defect; yet these sad and serious strains are most congenial and comforting to those hearts which misfortune has touched and softened. And such will deeply appreciate the genius of the poetess, for truly sings a sister spirit—

"Oh! prophet heart! thy grief, thy power,
To all deep souls belong;
The shadow in the sunny hour,
The wail in mirthful song:
Their sight is all too sadly clear—
For them a veil is riven:
Their piercing thoughts repose not here,
Their home is but in heaven."

We are by no means in favor of establishing precocity of intellect as the standard of real genius, yet it is certain that many distinguished persons have been marked in childhood as extraordinary; the blossom has given forth the sweet odor which the rich fruit, like that of the Mangostan, embodies in its delicious perfection.

Mrs. SIGOURNEY showed in childhood the promise of superior intellect, and that thirst for information, which marks the great activity of the mental faculties. She could read the Scriptures intelligibly at three years old; and some of her simple rhymes, written at eight, give evidence that her poetic powers were even then developing. Emulation was in those days appealed to in school, and the head of the class and the highest premiums were almost always awarded her; and generally obtained from older competitors. In short, childhood and youth were to her, periods of unbroken happiness; and a strictly religious education had an influence, no doubt, in producing early the trust and profession of piety.

At that time there were few attempts at authorship among Americans; the great fountains of periodical literature, which now threaten to deluge the age, had not then been broken up; and rarely had a female writer trusted any evidence of her literary taste to the press. But Miss Huntley ventured to send a few articles which she had written with a view to her own private improvement, to the public journals. These attracted the attention of Daniel Wadsworth, Esq., whose name deserves to be honorably recorded in this sketch of the gifted mind which he assisted to draw from the obscurity, where, but for his noble benevolence, it might long have remained "afar from the untasted sun-

beam." Mr. Wadsworth, who resided in Hartford, was a gentleman of large fortune, and eminently fitted by his refined taste, elevated character, and station in society, to become the Mæcenas of a young and sensitive writer. Mrs. Wadsworth lent her aid in the most delicate and kind manner to encourage and sustain the youthful poetess. Miss Huntley was received at the splendid mansion of her good patrons, and treated with the confidence and affection of a favored daughter. They have their reward, those generous friends; for they are now living to enjoy the fame and success of their protegé.

By the persuasions and exertions of Mr. Wadsworth, a volume, called "Moral Pieces—by Miss Huntley," was published in 1815. Though the "Pieces," generally, are not of a high order of literary composition, and cannot in this respect be compared with the later publications of the authoress, yet the pure spirit of piety and virtue is impressed on every page; and thus the individuality of the character of her mind is preserved, and a beautiful example of consistency displayed to the youthful and gifted of her own sex. We see that the desire to do good, was the prevailing motive to that cultivation of talent which has made her distinguished. The fame of a woman is glorious only as it induces the imitation of a pure and useful standard of excellence.

One great advantage of the patronage of Mr. and Mrs. Wadsworth, besides giving the most liberal opportunities for intellectual culture and embellishment, was obtaining for Miss Huntley a select school of young ladies, which she instructed for several years, to the mutual satisfaction of herself and pupils. Like Mrs. Barbauld, she enjoyed the affectionate society of children; like Hannah More, she made the science of education a conscientious study; and thus improved herself, as well as those under her care. A little poem, which she wrote in her school, entitled "Excuse for not fulfilling an engagement," is a beautiful illustration of her moral sensibility and self-discipline, which had converted what many young ladies would doubtless consider an irksome task, into a sweet and pleasant duty.

In 1819 Miss Huntley was married to Mr. Charles Sigourney of Hartford. This gentleman is descended from an eminent and respectable Huguenot family, who emigrated to the wilderness of America in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes. He is a merchant of highly respectable standing, a leading character in the Episcopal church, and a zealous patron of the Episcopal College at Hartford. He possesses a mind of great power and firmness, and a refined and cultivated taste.

In an elegant mansion, erected by him,—whose romantic grounds, combining, "hill, water-fall, and wood," were laid out and embellished by his fine taste—Mrs. SIGOURNEY indited those tender, touching, and fervent strains of sorrow and piety which will cause her name to be held in affectionate remembrance, while the human heart can be bowed by bereavement, or elevated by its trust in heaven. The works which she has published since her marriage, are various in number and in style. In 1822 appeared "Traits of the Aborigines of America, a Poem," written in blank verse; and though not of equal interest to the general reader with her shorter poems, nevertheless possesses much merit for its historical information and its accurate details of Indian life and habits. It is also impressed, like all her other works, with the seal of philanthropy and Christian feeling. Her next volume was "Connecticut, Forty Years Since;" a prose sketch, chiefly traditional, and intended to illustrate the character and manners of the good old puritan settlers of the land of steady habits. It is not a connected story, but contains some spirited descriptions, and a vein of sweet affections and humble devotion, which will well repay the search of those readers who are seeking rather for the gold of healthy sentiment than the tinsel of false refinement and affected sensibility. Soon after the appearance of this "Sketch," she published her first volume of fugitive poems, which at once established her reputation as a lyrist of no common powers. She has since published three volumes of "Poems" and one of "Prose Sketches," all of which have been kindly reviewed by the public, and are highly esteemed among the popular works of the day. She has also, in the mean time, written largely for the young. Entering into this department of literature with all the zeal of her warm heart and fertile mind, she has furnished the juvenile library with many choice gems. The largest of this series, "Letters to Young Ladies," is a work which deserves its place in the family library, as well as on the toilet of the youthful female of every class. It is a familiar exposition of the common duties of woman's life; and illustrates, in simple details but with great force of moral reasoning, the necessity of instructing our daughters in every household art and accomplishment; while at the same time the authoress has shown how much of all that is noblest and loveliest, in the works of benevolence and the progressof improvement, may be wrought out by the sex, strictly within their own sphere.

It is the popular belief that an author paints himself in his works; Byron's Manfred was considered by Goethe as the impersonation of that poet's own feelings and even actions. There is no doubt that the

bias of the writer's character materially impresses itself on the ethical or domestic views which he advances, because these subjects are always connected with human agents, and the standard of comparison must be found in the author's experience or sentiments. From various reasons we are inclined to think that Mrs. SIGOURNEY has, in these unpretending "Letters," &c. sketched her own manner of being. No one could describe so happily the many ready ways of doing good, who had not practised them; or paint so gracefully those little feminine employments which help to make home the abode of contentment and comfort, if she did not excel in their performance. The following description of *knitting*, which occurs in the chapter on "Domestic Employments," will explain what we mean:—

"Knitting is a quiet employment, favorable to reflection, and, though somewhat obsolete, not unallied to economy. It furnishes a ready vehicle of charity to the poor, and most appropriate during the season of winter. The timely gift of a pair of coarse stockings has often relieved the sufferings and protected the health of many an ill-clad and shivering child. It seems to be well adapted to save those fragments of time which might otherwise be lost. Mrs. Hannah More, whose example imparts dignity and even sacredness to common things, was partial throughout her whole life to this simple employment."

Thus writes Mrs. SIGOURNEY; and we fancy, that were her enthusiastic admirers to make a pilgrimage to visit the accomplished poetess, they would be far more likely to find her with knitting needles in hand than with pen or pencil; and that, instead of being seated at her writing-desk, she would be found "on hospitable thoughts intent," superintending the affairs of her household; or in that dearest of all employments to a good mother's heart, instructing and tending her young children. She has two, a daughter and son, to whom she performs the part of instructress as well as mother; exhibiting in her maternal example those virtues which would have raised a Roman matron to distinguished honor in the State. We dwell on these private excellences of our gifted countrywoman with peculiar pleasure, because they prove that the display of genius is not incompatible with the constant exercise of those household duties, which no woman can neglect without injuring her own reputation, and the happiness of those with whom she is connected. There are two poems in her works, "Birth-day verses to a Little Girl," addressed to her daughter on her sixth birth-day, and "The Second Birth-day" of her son, which are eloquent of the heart's best feelings; and so also is that sweet poem, "The Ark and Dove."

We come now to speak of the characteristics of her writings. In prose, as in poetry, she is distinguished for the earnestness and delicacy with which she urges moral and religious truths constantly on her readers. In prose, she manifests little warmth or sprightliness of imagination, but the zeal of doing good is always apparent. Judging from what she has written, we do not think she will ever be a popular writer of fictitious works. She cannot vary her style of expression sufficiently to hit off the easy dialogue or the animated description, like Miss Sedgwick:—but as a didactic writer, Mrs. SIGOURNEY displays strength of reasoning, a nice perception of moral fitness, and the ready command of choice and expressive words, which will always make her prose essays popular. She describes nature with a lover's feeling of its beauties, and with much delicacy and taste. Some of her sketches of beautiful scenery are very happy, though we think her talent for description is much more graceful, and, as it were, at home in the measured lines of her poetry, than in the polished periods of her best prose. Her genius brightens in the muses' smile, and she can command by that spell, as Prospero could by his staff, the attendance of the "delicate spirit" of fancy, which, like Ariel, brings

"Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not;"

and those "solemn breathing strains" which rouse conscience to its repentant work, or lift the trusting and contrite soul to heaven.

Though her own heart seems imbued with tendeness and love, yet she almost invariably succeeds best in descriptions of sublime and solitary scenery. How full of beauty is her poem of the "Alpine Flowers;"* and yet, like the "Spirit of the Frozen Ocean," described by M. G. Lewis, it has a loveliness that chills and awes:—

"Meek dwellers mid yon terror-stricken cliffs!
With brows so pure and incense breathing lips,
Whence are ye? Did some white-winged messenger,
On Mercy's mission, trust your timid gems
To the cold cradle of eternal snows?
Or, breathing on the callous icicles,
Bid them with tear-drops nurse ye?
Tree nor shrub,
Dare that drear atmosphere—no polar pine
Uprears a veteran front;—yet there ye stand,
Leaning your cheeks against the thick-ribb'd ice,
And looking up with brilliant eyes to Him
Who bids you bloom unblanched amid the waste
Of desolation."

* See Volume of Poems published in 1828.

Imbued with similar touches of solitary beauty with the foregoing, but conceived in a bolder and more exalted strain, is "Niagara"—a poem which, for grandeur and beauty of imagery united, has seldom been surpassed by any writer. The opening is a most sublime adjuration to that wonder of nature, and thrills the soul like the voice of the cataract:

"Flow on forever, in thy glorious robe
Of terror and of beauty. Yea, flow on
Unfathomed and resistless! God hath set
His rainbow on thy forehead: and the cloud
Mantled around thy feet. And he doth give
Thy voice of thunder power to speak of Him
Eternally—bidding the lip of man
Keep silence; and upon thy rocky altar pour
Incense of awe-struck praise.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Oh God! who can describe Niagara!" exclaimed Mrs. Butler, in the agony of her admiration. We reply, that Mrs. SIGOURNEY has done this, and worthily too; and that production is sufficient to establish her fame as a poetess of the first rank. It does more and better for her than this—it stamps her as the devoted Christian; for, except faith in the "dread Invisible" had sustained her genius, and trust in the Saviour had kept warm the fount of love and sensibility in her heart, she could not have surrounded a theme so awful, strange, and lonely, with such images of beauty and hope. True it is, that female writers owe their happiest efforts to religious feeling. Devotion seems to endow them with the martyr's glowing fervency of spirit. In the actual world, the path of woman is very circumscribed; but in that "better land," where pure beings dwell, her imagination may roam with the freedom of an angel's wing:—

It has been objected to Mrs. SIGOURNEY's writings that they contain too many elegiac poems; and these, being generally written in blank verse, impart a monotonous character to her works. In the preface to her last volume, "Zinzendorf," &c., she adverts to this subject, and shields herself under the authority of the wise Lord Bacon, that "we shall find as many hearse-like harmonies as carols if we listen to the harp of David." She might have urged a better reason, namely, the promptings of her own genius. To her tender feelings and contemplative mind, every knell that summons the mourner to weep, awakens her sympathy; and the dirge flows, as would her tears, to comfort the bereaved were she beside them. Nor is the death-song of necessity gloomy. Many of hers sound the notes of holy triumph, and awake the brightest anticipations of felicity—aye,

"Teach us of the melody of heaven."

She leaves not the "trophy of death at the tomb;" but shows us the "Resurrection and the life." Thus she elevates the hope of the Christian, and chastens the thoughts of the worldly-minded. This is her mission, the true purpose of her heaven-endowed mind; for the inspirations of genius are from heaven, and, when not perverted by a corrupted will, rise as naturally upward as the morning dew on the flower is exhaled to the skies.

It is this solemn-breathing muse which renders the stately blank verse measure the readiest vehicle of her fancies. She has a wonderful command of words, and the fetters of rhyme check the free expression of her thoughts. She is also endowed with a fine conception of the harmonious and appropriate; and hence the smooth flow of her lines, and the perfect adaptation of the language to the subject she is describing. These qualities eminently fit her to be the eulogist of departed worth; and it is truly wonderful to observe, that, though she has written so large a number of elegiac poems, yet she has, with delicate taste and nice judgment, preserved the distinctive lineaments of each character she has immortalized. Compare her funeral song with the celebrated epitaphs of Pope, and then the wide and diversified range of her muse, when treating of that one theme, "death and the grave," will be acknowledged.

Mrs. Sigourney has often been styled "the American Hemans." This comparison is neither correct nor just to the former, because it conveys an idea of imitation, and leads those who have not read her works to expect a greater similarity between these two popular poets than will, on examination, be found. True, there is a resemblance; for both have poured out "the fervor, and the trust, and the tenderness" of a woman's heart; and in the volume of "Mrs. Hemans' poetical works," published by Mr. Ashe, is one gem from the mine of our countrywoman.* But, though beautiful, it is not of the same type and "speaking picture of beauty" with those of the English poetess; yet is it worthy its shrine among her glowing and glorious productions. But there need be no comparison instituted between these sisters of the lyre, both have excelled in their own peculiar manner; and the beautiful tribute rendered by Mrs. Sigourney to the memory of "Felicia Hemans," has entwined their names in a wreath which will never fade. Thus ought the good and gifted of the sex to appreciate each other.

H.

* See "Death of an Infant," page 344.

Engraved by W. J. Armstrong from a painting by Inman.

MAJOR GENERAL

Winfield Scott.

WINFIELD SCOTT

Winfield Scott was born, on the 13th of June, 1785, in the county of Dinwiddie, near Petersburgh, Virginia. Being intended for the law, he received a liberal education, and was graduated at Williams and Mary College. In 1806, having completed his studies, he commenced practice at the bar; and his talents and acquirements bid fair to introduce him in a short time to a lucrative business. In 1807, the outrage upon the frigate Chesapeake roused the indignant feelings of the nation; redress was loudly called for, and the more ardent of our countrymen anticipated an immediate war. The measures of Congress at their next session rendering a rupture probable, young Scott forsook the law, and accepted a commission as the captain in a regiment of light artillery, which was raised upon the enlargement of the army. In this capacity he remained prosecuting his military studies, until the declaration of war opened a more arduous field for the exercise of his talents.

During the early part of his military career, Capt. Scott conceiving himself injured by his commanding officer, Gen. Wilkinson, expressed himself very freely regarding that gentleman. For this offence having been brought before a court-martial, and not being allowed to adduce in his defence the provocation received, he was found guilty, and sentenced to be suspended for twelve months from his command.

In the spring of 1812 he acted as Judge Advocate on the trial of Col. Cushing. His speech on this occasion affords honorable testimony both of his legal attainments and rhetorical ability.

On the 6th of July, 1812, Scott was promoted to the rank of Lieut. Col. in the 2nd regiment of artillery; and early in the autumn of the same year he was posted with his regiment at Black Rock, to protect the navy yard at that place.

On the 9th of October Lieut. Elliot of the navy, at the head of a small party of seamen and a few troops, whom Col. Scott had despatched to his assistance, succeeded in cutting out two small brigs, the Detroit and Caledonia, from under the guns of fort Erie. In dropping down the river, the Detroit became unmanageable, and taking a wrong channel, grounded under the guns of the enemy's battery. Here she was abandoned by her crew, and immediately afterwards taken possession of by the British. By the well-directed fire of a few light guns stationed opposite, Col. Scott again obtained possession of the brig, and held it until the vessel was burnt. This was the first time he was actually engaged with an enemy.

On the 13th of October the attack upon Queenston under Col. Solomon Van Rensselaer took place. On the day previous, Lieut. Col. Scott had arrived with his regiment at Schlosser, twelve miles from Lewiston. Obtaining here some information of the anticipated movement, he rode immediately to Lewiston, and earnestly entreated Gen. Van Rensselaer that he might accompany the expedition. The General, however, informed him that his arrangements had already been perfected, and that, consequently, his request could not be acceded to. Anxious at all events to be near the scene of action, Scott obtained permission to march his regiment to Lewiston, and to use his artillery as circumstances might direct. In the early part of the action which followed, he bore no part; but it soon being announced that both Col. Fenwick and Col. Van Rensselaer had fallen severely wounded, Col. Scott's renewed request to be sent across the river was finally acceded to. The Americans were already in possession of the heights; having driven the enemy before them, and repulsed an attack under Gen. Brock, who had come up with reinforcements, Gen. Brock being himself killed in the engagement.

On his arrival Col. Scott found the troops in considerable disorder. Announcing his name and rank, he immediately formed them into line. On counting, they amounted to three hundred and fifty regulars, rank and file, and two hundred and fifty-seven volunteers, under Gen. Wadsworth and Col. Stranahan. Col. Scott's attention was now directed to an eighteen-pounder, which the enemy in his retreat had left in the hands of the Americans after having hastily spiked it, and he proceeded in person to direct the measures for rendering the piece again useful. Returning in a short time, he was surprised to find a large body of Indians in the act of attacking the American lines, while the troops, already in some confusion, were on the point of giving way. His presence quickly changed the state of affairs. The troops reco-

vered their firmness, and the Indians were compelled to make a speedy retreat.

For several hours the Americans maintained their position unmolested by the regular troops of the enemy, who were waiting to be reinforced from Fort George. During this time the Indians repeatedly attacked the American line; two of them in particular appeared to single out Gen. Scott, who was conspicuous by his commanding stature and the brilliancy of his uniform, as the special object of their attack. To such a marked degree was this the case, that Major Towson sent a message to Scott upon the subject, accompanied by his own overcoat, and a request for him to put it on. But Scott declined to take advantage of this considerate kindness; and the Indians were finally driven from a wood, to which they had retreated, by a charge which he gallantly led in person.

While these transactions were taking place upon the Canadian shore, every effort was made by the commanding officers to induce the American militia on the opposite side of the river to cross over to the assistance of their countrymen, but in vain; entreaty was wasted upon them; and as all the boats were upon the American side, the little band under Scott was left to await a fate from which there was no retreat. The enemy having been reinforced by the garrison from Fort George, under Gen. Sheaffe, now numbered in regulars, Indians, and militia, over one thousand men. At the head of this superior force Gen. Sheaffe advanced steadily, but slowly and cautiously, upon an enemy whose valor had already been felt. At length they closed. For a short time the Americans maintained their position; but, pressed upon by a greatly superior force, and nearly surrounded, they at length gave way, and retreated to the bank of the river. All had now been done that was required by honor, and longer resistance would only have sacrificed in vain the lives of brave men. Terms of capitulation were accordingly agreed upon, and Col. Scott surrendered into the hands of the enemy his whole force, now reduced to one hundred and thirty-nine regulars and one hundred and fifty-four militia; in all two hundred and ninety-three men. To Scott's mortification, the number of prisoners was afterwards swelled by several hundreds of militia, who, having crossed over to the Canadian shore, had concealed themselves among the rocks, and had never taken the slightest share in the action. After the surrender, two of the Indian chiefs came up to Scott, and could not be persuaded that he had escaped, unwounded, the numerous balls they had levelled at him.

From Queenston Scott was sent to Quebec; and thence, having

been parolled, he embarked for Boston. Soon afterwards, in January, 1813, he was exchanged.

In the spring, Col. Scott joined the army at Fort Niagara, under the command of Maj. Gen. Dearborn, in the capacity of Adjutant-general. This office was then new in our service, but Scott succeeded in regulating its details, and discharging its duties in a manner alike satisfactory to the commanding officer and beneficial to the service.

By the latter part of May, Gen. Dearborn had assembled in the neighborhood of Niagara a force of near five thousand men; and arrangements were consequently entered upon, by him and Commodore Chauncey, for the attack on Fort George. On the 26th of May, at one o'clock in the morning, the army embarked in boats, under the immediate command of Major-general Lewis. It was formed in six divisions; of these Scott was selected to lead the first, numbering about five hundred men. At nine in the morning Col. S. effected a landing under a heavy fire of musketry and cannon, about a mile and a quarter from Newark, and the same distance west of the mouth of the Niagara. Forming his men under the shelter of a bank which partially protected them from the fire of the enemy, he immediately led them to the assault. The enemy, about fifteen hundred strong, were formed immediately upon the brow of a hill. A vigorous charge up hill soon drove them from their advantageous position at the point of the bayonet. Retreating, they rallied, and took up a new position behind a ravine at a little distance. Here the action was renewed, and for about twenty minutes was severe and well-contested. The division under Gen. Boyd had now landed, and rapidly advanced to the support of Col. Scott; the enemy was again compelled to retreat, closely followed by the 1st division until it was recalled from the pursuit. On approaching Fort George, it was perceived that the enemy was about abandoning the works. Two companies were detached from the head of the pursuing column to prevent this movement, and a few prisoners were made. While the American troops were about eighty paces distant, one of the magazines blew up with a tremendous explosion. The gates were immediately forced, and Col. Scott being the first to enter, removed, with his own hands, the British flag, which was still flying on the works; while Captains Hindman and Stockton extinguished the matches by which it was intended to fire the other magazines. In his despatches, Gen. Dearborn, after praising the universal good conduct of those engaged, mentions Col. Scott among those who had pre-eminently distinguished themselves by their bravery and conduct.

During the summer of 1813, though engaged in several skirmishes

in which he displayed his usual gallantry, Col. Scott had no opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself. The army under its successive commanders, Gen. Dearborn, Lewis, Boyd, and Wilkinson, remained quietly in the neighborhood of Fort George; and the subordinate officers necessarily partook of its inactivity.

In the commencement of October, the army under Gen. Wilkinson was embarked, and proceeded down the lake on the fruitless expedition against Montreal. Col. Scott was left in command of the garrison of Fort George, consisting of between seven and eight thousand men, regulars and militia. For a few days the movements of the British General rendered it a matter of doubt whether or not he was about to attack the garrison; during this time Scott was assiduously employed in strengthening his defences. On the 9th of October De Rottenburg suddenly broke up his encampment, and retreated to Burlington Heights, fifty-three miles distant; according to the instructions of the commanding officer, Col. Scott was now relieved of the command of the fort, and he immediately marched his regiment to Sackett's Harbor, there to join the expedition under Gen. Wilkinson. It is well known that the expedition, after exciting much expectation, finally resulted in utter failure. The troops endured great fatigue, and encountered considerable danger in the difficult and perilous navigation of the St. Lawrence, without obtaining an opportunity of distinguishing themselves or benefitting their country.

Col. Scott spent part of the winter of 1813–14 in Albany. On the 9th of March he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-general, and he joined Gen. Brown on his route to Niagara, in the commencement of the next month. Soon after Gen. Brown was called to Sackett's Harbor, and the command, in consequence, devolved upon Gen. Scott, who immediately assembled the army and established a camp of instruction. His whole attention was now given to perfecting the discipline of the troops, to give them that celerity and combination of movement, which in modern times has made war a science, and rendered individual prowess of so little avail. For two months and a half the troops were drilled daily from seven to nine hours each day, until finally they exhibited a perfection of discipline, never before attained in our army. They were now prepared to meet on terms of equality the veteran troops of the enemy, and they soon had an opportunity of showing the advantages they had derived from their instruction. In June, Major Gen. Brown reached Buffalo with reinforcements, and in the commencement of the next month the campaign was opened. The Niagara was passed on the 3d of July, and Fort Erie was taken on the

same day by a portion of Scott's brigade under Major Jessup. On the morning of the 4th the army moved towards Chippewa, Gen. Scott's brigade being in advance; and on the evening of the same day took up a position on the bank of Street's Creek, about two miles distant from the British encampment. The stream was in front of the American position, having beyond it an extensive plain; its right rested upon the Niagara, and its left upon a wood. On the following day the British militia and the Indians having occupied the wood, commenced annoying the American piquets from it until Brig. Gen. Porter at the head of his brigade of militia and friendly Indians, drove the enemy from the wood back upon the Chippewa. Here the British irregulars being supported by their whole army drawn out in line and advancing to the attack, Gen. Porter in his turn was compelled to give way.

The heaviness of the firing informed Gen. Brown of the advance of the main body of the enemy. It was now about five o'clock in the afternoon. Gen. Scott was at this moment advancing with his brigade to drill upon the plain on which the battle was afterwards fought. On the march he met Gen. Brown, who said to him, "The enemy is advancing—you will have a fight." Beyond this brief remark Gen. Scott received no orders from the commanding General, who passed on to put the reserve in motion. When Gen. Scott reached the stream fronting the American camp, the enemy was drawn up in order of battle. Crossing the bridge under a heavy fire of artillery, Gen. Scott formed his line. The battalions of Majors Leavenworth and M'Neil were opposed respectively to the left and centre of the enemies, while the battalion of Major Jessup formed upon the left, and was ordered to advance upon the British right wing which rested upon a wood; and the artillery was posted on the right resting upon the river. The British line outflanking ours upon the right from the superior number of the enemy, Gen. Scott was compelled to increase the interval between the battalions of Leavenworth and M'Neil. These movements were executed steadily and with precision. The action becoming general, Major Jessup having engaged, and broken off the right wing of the enemy while their main body continued to advance, gave their army a new flank. Taking advantage of this circumstance, and assisted by the enlarged interval between the battalions of Leavenworth and M'Neil, Gen. Scott threw the battalion of the latter forward upon its right flank so as to stand obliquely to the charge of the enemy, outflanking them upon the right. This movement, executed with precision, together with the steadiness of our troops and the heavy

fire from the artillery, decided the fate of the day. The British army retreated a short distance in good order, then broke, and fled in confusion to their intrenchments beyond the Chippewa.

This action was fought by SCOTT alone against superior numbers. Gen. Porter's irregular troops had given way in the commencement of the engagement, and were not again brought into the field; while the reserve did not come up in time to take any part in the battle. It at once gave the troops confidence in themselves and their leaders; they had beaten the enemy in a fair field, and with inferior numbers; and their success could only be attributed to superior skill and discipline.

On the third day after the action the American army crossed the Chippewa, the enemy retreating upon its advance. After remaining a fortnight at Queenston, Gen. Brown recrossed the Chippewa and encamped at its mouth. On the afternoon of the next day, July 25th, SCOTT was ordered again to advance upon Queenston. At the time the order was received the troops were drawn up for drill, and in consequence the march was entered upon immediately. The forces under SCOTT consisted of four small battalions, commanded by Col. Brady and Majors Jessup, Leavenworth, and M'Neil; a troop of light dragoons, and some mounted volunteers; the whole amounting to one thousand and fifty men. When about three miles from the camp, and in the neighborhood of the falls of Niagara, SCOTT received information that the enemy was directly in his front, concealed from view by a narrow strip of woodland which intervened. This proved to be the advanced corps of the British army, which, under Lieutenant Gen. Drummond, was advancing to attack the Americans at Chippewa. The enemy was posted on a ridge running as right angles to the Niagara, his left resting on the road, between which and the river there was an interval of about two hundred paces covered with wood; and his position was still further strengthened by a formidable battery of artillery. He had already fifteen hundred men in line, and his force was constantly increasing by the junction of fresh troops on their march from Fort George.

Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, after despatching a messenger to Gen. Brown, SCOTT resolved on an immediate attack. Major Jessup, supported by Col. Brady, was ordered to penetrate the wood and turn the enemy's left wing, while the two remaining battalions and Towson's artillery commenced the action in front. Perceiving that his right wing extended far beyond that of our little army, the enemy endeavored to take advantage of this circumstance, and threw forward

two battalions to take our army on the left. These were promptly beaten back. Major Jessup in the mean time succeeded in turning the left wing of the British army, and gaining the rear, took Maj. Gen. Riall and several other officers prisoners; then charging through their line, and cutting off a portion of their wing, he discovered himself to our troops by a heavy fire upon the enemy. The action, which had commenced a little before sunset, had now continued above an hour and a half. The enemy, though his line had been forced in several places, was constantly receiving fresh reinforcements, and Scott's men suffered dreadfully from the fire of their artillery. At this time the reserve under Maj. Gen. Brown came up, and the remainder of the action was fought under his orders. The remains of Scott's battalions were consolidated into one; and at the head of this Scott twice charged the enemy, exposing his person in the most dauntless manner, until, having had two horses killed under him, he himself being already wounded, and after his aids, Lieut. North and Brigade Major Smith, had both been wounded by his side, he received a musket ball in the shoulder, which compelled him to retire from the field.

In proportion to the numbers engaged, this was the most sanguinary battle fought during the war. For more than two hours the hostile lines were within twenty paces of each other, and charges with the bayonet were frequent and resolute. Of the nine hundred and twenty men, who constituted the small brigade of Scott, four hundred and ninety were killed or wounded. Nor was the determined courage shown in the battle the only circumstance which rendered it remarkable. It commenced a little before sunset, and continued till eleven at night by the light of the moon; while the roar of Niagara, but a short distance from the field, could be heard amid the din and tumult of the battle.

On the very day on which was fought the battle of Bridgewater Scott was appointed a Major-general by brevet. His wounds, which were severe, confined him for a long time; nor had he again an opporunity of distinguishing himself before the conclusion of peace put an end to all active service in the field. In the mean time his sufferings were alleviated by the testimonials of the approbation and gratitude of his countrymen. Congress ordered him a vote of thanks and a medal; the legislature of his native state presented him with a similar vote, together with a sword; the citizens of Petersburgh likewise presented him with a sword, and his name was given to a new county in Virginia.

When, in 1815, the army was reduced to the peace establishment, the Secretary of War required the services of Gen. SCOTT, in conjunction with those of Gen. Brown, Ripley, and Macomb, to assist in the delicate task of re-organizing the army, and selecting the officers who were still to remain attached to the service.

In 1817 Gen. SCOTT was drawn into a correspondence with Gen. Jackson, which occasioned much discussion at the time, and which subsequently found its way into the public papers. In the spring of 1817 Gen. Jackson had issued an order directing that no commands issued by the war department should be obeyed unless they came through him. This order became the subject of public animadversion, and very different views were taken of it by different parties. The conversation turning upon it in a society in which SCOTT was present, he expressed an opinion unfavorable to the propriety of the order. His remarks, colored and distorted, having been conveyed to Gen. Jackson by an anonymous correspondent, that gentleman addressed a letter to Gen. SCOTT upon the subject. In reply, Gen. SCOTT candidly stated his remarks, and detailed the evils that would result were the conduct of Gen. Jackson generally imitated. The reply, though respectful and manly, was not satisfactory; and in a second letter, after having employed language both harsh and violent, Gen. Jackson offered a meeting to SCOTT if he felt himself aggrieved by his language. SCOTT's remarks upon this were both moderate and manly. He says "He thought of New Orleans, and some other affairs, in which both parties had been engaged; and it appeared to him that a brace of pistols could add nothing to the character of either. He conceived that at the age he had then attained, some little reputation for moderation and temper began to be an object worthy of consideration. In fact, it did not once seriously occur to him that the courage of either could be put in question, and therefore he found himself perfectly at liberty to consult his sense of justice and propriety, rather than his passions." A moderate reply was returned, and the correspondence dropped.

In February, 1828, the death of Maj. Gen. Brown, who had for a long time been the undisputed head of the army, left it without an immediate commander-in-chief. In the following May, Maj. Gen. Macomb was appointed to the vacant office by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate. Gen. SCOTT, who by brevet rank was the senior officer, refused to obey the orders of the new commander-in-chief. The subject was frequently brought before the National Legislature. At one time Gen. SCOTT was suspended from his command, and after

memorializing Congress on the subject, he finally considered himself bound in honor to tender his commission to the President. Congress, however, supported the views of the Executive, and Gen. SCOTT, though still maintaining the justice of his position, at the instance of his friends withdrew his resignation, and continued to be attached to a service of which he had long been an ornament. Without wishing to revive a discussion which will soon be forgotten, it is but right to give so much of SCOTT's views upon the subject as will serve to justify his course. In his memorial to Congress he says, "The rank of commander-in-chief, or the Major-general, is at this time unknown to the laws; that of Major-general is, in fact, the highest grade in the army. In all services, military command is determined, first, by difference of grade; second, by priority in the same grade. Brevet rank has uniformly been held to give command with ordinary rank, except for obvious reasons in the body of an unmixed regiment. Gen. Macomb was Major-general by brevet from the 1st of September, 1814; Gen. SCOTT from the 25th of July of the same year. Of course, brevet rank being the same as ordinary rank, Gen. SCOTT could not be commanded by his junior officer of the same grade." The President, however, decided differently; and the National Legislature concurring with him, Gen. SCOTT, as we have before stated, yielded to his decision.

Upon the breaking out of the disturbances, in May, 1832, on the north-western frontier, caused by the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians under Black Hawk, Gen. SCOTT was ordered to proceed to the scene of action, and take command of the forces destined to subdue the savages. He embarked at Buffalo for Chicago early in July, four small steamboats having been engaged to transport the troops and supplies. Every one remembers, that in the summer of 1832, that dreadful scourge, the cholera, whose progress had been traced at first with curiosity, at length with awe and terror, from Asia throughout Europe, first made its appearance upon our shores. "On the eighth of July," writes Gen. SCOTT, "all on board were in high health and spirits, the next morning six undoubted cases of cholera had presented themselves." The first cases of the disease were fearfully fatal. In the course of a few hours, men previously in the enjoyment of full health were lifeless corpses. The men being crowded together in a confined space, the disease spread rapidly; in the course of a few days one hundred and twenty had been attacked. On arriving at Chicago every member of the General's staff was ill. Gen. SCOTT continued in good health, though "he exposed himself," writes Capt. Monroe, who formed one of the expedition, "by attending every officer and soldier taken

sick." Of the eight hundred and fifty men who left Buffalo, the number was so reduced by death and desertion, caused by fear of the pestilence, that in a short time no more than two hundred were left. The occurrence of the epidemic detained Gen. Scott some time at Chicago. Independently of the condition of the troops, to have joined the volunteers of Gen. Atkinson's army with them, while the cholera was still raging, would have caused at once the almost total dispersion of that necessary corps.

We have not space to detail the events by which the war was speedily brought to a close. The Indians, dispirited and outnumbered, were, by a series of well-combined movements, speedily killed, dispersed, or taken; and their chiefs, conducted by the policy of the general government throughout a greater portion of the Union, learned too well the power and numbers of the white men again to venture upon a contest with them.

In the latter part of the year 1835, the discontents, which had long existed among a portion of the Seminole Indians, caused by their approaching removal, broke out into open hostilities; and on the 28th of December, the melancholy massacre of Major Dade's detachment showed at once the determination and force of the hostile party. Gen. Scott saw the Secretary of War at four o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th. Being asked "When he could set out for Florida?" he replied, "that night." His instructions, however, could not be drawn up till the following day. On the 21st of January of the following year, it having become probable that many of the Creeks would join the Seminoles, Maj. Gen. Scott received orders to march immediately to the theatre of hostilities, and assume the command. Having reached Picolata, on the St. John's river, Scott issued his general orders on the 22d of February. The troops on the west of the St. John's, under Brig. Gen. Clinch, were to constitute the right wing of the army; those on the east of the same river, under Brig. Gen. Eustis, the left; while those at Tampa Bay, under the command of Col. Lindsay, were to form the centre. The wings were to be further strengthened by large reinforcements of volunteers from the neighboring States.

The Indians were believed at this time to be concentrated in the neighborhood of the Withlacoochee. Upon this point the three divisions of the army were to march by different routes, and to reach, at a specified time, their indicated stations. The Indians were now to be attacked in front by Gen. Scott, while the commands under Eustis and Lindsay were not only to assist in the engagement, but to close in the rear, and prevent the escape of the Indians to the south-east. Had

the combined movements been effected in proper time and with adequate means, the war would, in all probability, have been speedily ended; but the lateness of the season, the insufficiency of the supplies necessary for the existence of the army, the want of adequate means of transportation, the unknown and impracticable nature of the country, together with the precipitate movement of Gen. Gaines from Tampa Bay, all contributed to the failure which ensued. On the 5th of April the three columns met at Tampa Bay, forced to come in by the want of provisions.

After the failure of the great plan of the campaign, some minor operations were undertaken for the double purpose of exploring the country and encountering the hostile Indians; but the approach of the sickly season soon compelled the troops to go into quarters for the summer.

Though the campaign had failed, it was owing to causes over which Scott had no control. The plan was not only feasible, but, in the opinion of a competent judge, the only one which afforded a prospect of success. "The only true plan of operations against them (the Indians)" writes Gen. Clinch on the 27th of April, after having forced his way through the heart of the Indian country, "will be that first assigned by you; that is, a force from Peklekaha, a force ascending by my route, and a corresponding one on the north side." But Scott was convinced, from an examination of the country, that the war would require a larger force, more extensive preparations, and a greater length of time, than had hitherto been deemed necessary. "To end this war," writes he to the Secretary on the 30th of April, "I am now persuaded that not less than three thousand good troops are indispensable; two thousand four hundred infantry, and six hundred horse; the country to be scoured and occupied requiring that number;" together with these, "two or three steamers, with a light draft of water, and fifty or sixty barges capable of carrying from ten to fifteen men each. I have no desire," continued he, "to conduct the operations of the new forces; that is an honor which I shall neither solicit nor decline." These estimates were at the time the subject of much invidious remark; but experience has proved the justice of the calculations and observations on which they are founded.

Upon the army's retiring into summer quarters, the hostile Indians again renewed their predatory excursions; and the inhabitants of Florida, who had suddenly passed from too great a contempt for the enemy to a terror as groundless, loudly complained of the defenceless condition of the frontier; and the public papers of that section of the

country animadverted in the severest terms upon the measures of the commanding General. But just recovering from an illness, induced by his exertions and by the unhealthiness of the climate, and with evidence before him of the extent to which the panic had spread among the Floridians, SCOTT, in his general orders of May 17th, spoke of it openly and severely; and this, of course, did not tend to allay the discontent.

In the beginning of the summer the disturbances among the Creek Indians called SCOTT to Georgia to direct in person the operations necessary for their subjugation. The Indians here were not favored to the same extent as the Seminoles by the nature of the country; in a short time they were compelled to submit, and the war was terminated. Unfortunately, however, a misunderstanding had occurred between Gen. SCOTT and Gen. Jessup, who had served under him with so much distinction at Chippewa and Bridgewater. SCOTT having complained of Gen. Jessup's disobedience of orders, that gentleman, instead of openly demanding an investigation, in a private letter to Mr. Blair, the editor of the Globe newspaper, attacked the plans and conduct of Gen. SCOTT, requesting, at the same time, that the letter should be shown to the President. In consequence, on the 9th of July, SCOTT was recalled. The General proceeded immediately to Washington to demand a court of inquiry upon his conduct during the war; and on the 3d of October, a court, composed of Maj. Gen. Macomb and Brig. Generals Atkinson and Brady, were directed to assemble at Frederick, in Maryland. After a long delay, occasioned, in a great measure, by the difficuly of procuring the attendance of witnesses, many of whom were engaged at the seat of war, and after a speech by Gen. SCOTT, remarkable alike for its clear arrangement, its close reasoning, and triumphant vindication of his course, the court unanimously agreed in approving of his plan of the Seminole campaign as well "devised, and prosecuted with energy, steadiness, and ability;" while, with regard to the Creek war, they state "the plan of campaign, as adopted by Maj. Gen. SCOTT, was well calculated to lead to successful results; and that it was prosecuted by him, as far as practicable, with zeal and ability until he was recalled from the command.

Upon the breaking out of the disturbances upon the Canadian frontier during the winter of 1837–8, the services Gen. SCOTT were again put in requisition. We all remember that the excitement and ill-feeling, growing out of the rebellion in Canada, had nearly produced open hostilities, at a time when the United States had not a soldier upon the lines to cause their neutrality to be respected. The circumstances de-

manded a rare union of firmness and moderation, of courage and of coolness, of vigorous decision, and of a spirit of conciliation. These qualities were found united in Gen. Scott. In the course of a short time the excitement was allayed, and all danger of serious collision removed.

At present Gen. Scott is engaged in enforcing and superintending the removal of the Cherokees. In this unpleasant office, the same union of energy, courage, and moderation, by which his character is marked, has enabled him thus far to command the respect, at the same time that he has won the good-will, of the Indians. He has at once enforced the command of his country, and obtained the removal of an ancient people from the lands long inhabited by themselves and their ancestors, without violence, and, we believe, without irritation.

On the 11th of March, 1817, Gen. Scott was married to Miss Maria Mayo, daughter of Col. Mayo.

After the preceding narrative, we need not enter upon any detailed account of the character of Gen. Scott. Its prominent traits are such as must always mark the eminent commander—a union of strong intellect with energy, resolution, and determined courage. On the field of battle, his indifference to danger has amounted to rashness ; but his bravery was ever untinged by ferocity. Independently of the actions in which he has been engaged, his scientific knowledge of his profession is manifested by the Manual of Infantry Tactics ; which, in conformity with a resolution of the House of Representatives, he prepared for the information and government of the army,—a work alike remarkable for the minuteness of its details, and for the clear and simple manner in which they are conveyed. The numerous and complicated evolutions of the modern art of war, detailed in language so perspicuous as to be comprehensible by the unprofessional reader, while the professional merits of the book have been pronounced by competent judges to be of the highest order. Gen. Scott is intimately and critically acquainted with the literature of his own language ; and his official letters, and the pamphlets of which he is the author, show him to be possessed of a style, flowing, correct and elegant. Though now in the fifty-fourth year of his age, he retains, to a remarkable degree, the vigor and buoyancy of youth ; and should our country again be unfortunately involved in a general war, all eyes would be directed to Scott as the first of that gallant band upon whom would depend the honor and success of our arms.

Engraved by H. Longacre from a Painting by J. Wood

MAJOR GENERAL

Edmund Pendleton Gaines

EDMUND PENDLETON GAINES.

Edmund Pendleton Gaines, the third son of James Gaines, was born on the 20th of March, 1777, near the eastern base of the blue ridge, in the county of Culpepper, Virginia. His father was married while very young to Miss White, who died a year after the marriage, leaving one daughter. He afterwards married Elizabeth Strother, by whom he had four daughters and two sons elder, and three daughters and one son younger than Edmund. His father served in the latter part of the revolutionary war at the head of a company of volunteers; and was soon after chosen a member of the legislature of North Carolina, to the northwest border of which state he had moved with his family at the close of the war. He was afterwards elected a member of the convention of that state to which the federal constitution was submitted, and by which it was rejected. If upon the final vote of rejection the name of James Gaines stands recorded in favor of that measure, his objections were entirely removed by the adoption of the "*Bill of Rights;*" and he lived to see its excellence demonstrated by a trial of forty-two years duration. He witnessed the progress and issue of this trial with a steadfast belief that the federal constitution, so amended, and taken in connexion with the constitution of the several states of the union, embraced the most perfect, as well as the most powerful, system of government known to man. James Gaines was the nephew of Edmund Pendleton, a profound lawyer, and for many years the presiding judge of the court of appeals of the state of Virginia, and a statesman whose services were most prominent in the cause which produced a Washington, and has enrolled the names of Henry, Jefferson, Madison, Randolph, Lee, and Mason, among the most distinguished in the annals of American history.

To an early association with such an individual, and to the affectionate solicitude and guardian care of a highly gifted mother, are to be imputed the stern integrity and devoted sense of duty which

have always distinguished the subject of this memoir. Upon the memory of his mother his heart still rests with an abiding love, and to her care and prudence he yet delights to acknowledge himself mainly indebted for the principles which have sustained and strengthened him amid the trying and perilous scenes of his eventful life.

Born in a frontier settlement, and during a state of civil war, his earliest recollections are painfully connected with deeds of blood and rapine. A main object of maternal care was manifested in an anxious zeal to merge the baleful influences in a recital of the triumphs of her countrymen in the great cause of civil liberty, and of the brilliant consequences that were to flow to her children and posterity from such pressing and impending calamities. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the subsequent career of her favorite son should be devoted to the profession of arms; and less, that that career should be distinguished not more on the field of battle, than by a loyal devotion to the constitution and the laws of his country, both as a soldier and a private citizen.

At the close of the war of independence, his father's estate consisted of a plantation of a few hundred acres, and that but indifferently stocked: of money, like the rest of his neighbors, he had none, except in the form of the old valueless continental bills.

Under these circumstances of poverty, in which all classes were at the time more or less involved, it will not be matter of surprise that the early education of our hero should be limited to the acquirement of such attainments as he could occasionally find time to receive at the neighboring county school.

The greater portion of his youth was necessarily devoted to labor. His daily toils were, however, amply compensated by the reflection that the burden of the farm was lessened to the advancing years of his father, and that the declining days of his mother were comforted and consoled by every act of filial duty.

In the subsequent toils of his professional career, he has more than once had reason to congratulate himself on the habits acquired in following the plough and in wielding the axe. His heart was early imbued with the pleasures which result from the performance of duties, and his body hardened by healthful and vigorous exercise. To an early friend, whom he often delights to name, one Ralph Mitchell, he was indebted for the attainment of so much of the elements of the mathematics as to become an accurate surveyor.

He had now attained his thirteenth year.

About this time his father removed his family to Sullivan county, which afterwards became the eastern county of Tennessee. His new residence brought him into the immediate vicinity of the depredations so frequently committed at that time by the Cherokee and Creek Indians, with whom we were at war, and so continued to be for several years after his father's removal to Tennessee.

Our hero's thoughts became now actually turned to the profession of arms, and he employed all his leisure hours in the perusal of books of history and such military works as chance or his father's early associates afforded him. At the age of fourteen his rifle became his constant companion, and in his wilderness or mountain excursions, he soon acquired such skill in the management of this formidable arm, as to excel most of his young associates who vied with him in the use of it.

When about eighteen years of age, he was elected lieutenant of a rifle company of volunteers, commanded by captain J. Cloud. In the twenty-first year of his age, he commenced, as far as the most limited means would permit him, the study of the law. About this time he was recommended by his distinguished friend, the Honorable W. C. C. Claiborne, then in congress, for an appointment in the army, and on the 10th of January, 1799, he was appointed an ensign.

In the fall of 1799, he received notice that he was attached to the sixth United States regiment, and was ordered on duty in the recruiting service, having been, in the interim, promoted to a second lieutenancy. In the following year the sixth regiment was disbanded. Lieutenant Gaines was soon after attached to the fourth, then commanded by Colonel Thomas Butler.

In the summer of 1801, the colonel was instructed to select the subaltern of his regiment best qualified for making a topographical survey from Nashville to Natchez, for the location of a military road. He appointed Lieutenant Gaines. In the performance of this duty, and in the survey of some Indian boundary lines near the Choctaw nation, he was engaged until the winter of 1803—4.

In the year 1804, when it was found that Spain had refused to withdraw her troops from the military posts of Mobile and Baton Rouge, and to deliver up the country lying between the island of Orleans, the Iberville, the river Mississippi, and the Perdido, as a part of Louisiana, the president of the United States, not considering

the country prepared for war, determined to appoint a military collector of the customs for the district of Mobile. For this office, GAINES, who had in 1802 been promoted to a first lieutenancy, was selected. He accepted the office in the confident expectation that his position at Fort Stoddert, thirty-six miles north of the town of Mobile, where he was stationed, would insure to him, sooner or later, the honor of taking possession of the disputed territory.

In the year 1806, our military collector of the customs, in addition to the duties hitherto assigned to him, was honored with the appointment of postmaster, and that of agent to the postmaster-general, with authority to suspend certain postmasters and mail contractors, whose delinquencies were in anywise attributable to the influence of persons then known to be engaged in what was termed the *Burr war*. As commandant of Fort Stoddert, GAINES was authorized to employ such of the United States troops as he should deem necessary and proper to afford protection to the persons employed as inspectors of the revenue, as well as those employed in carrying the mail between the city of New Orleans and Athens, Georgia; the principal part of the intervening country, near six hundred miles, being at that time a wilderness.

While in the discharge of the various and complicated duties of the civil and military trusts confided to him, it became his duty, in obedience to the proclamation of the president, to arrest Colonel Burr, and to send him under a mounted guard, in charge of Major Nicholas Perkins, who volunteered his services for that purpose, to Virginia for trial. Of the propriety of this act Captain GAINES never for a moment entertained a doubt.

It is a fact, however, not to be concealed, that, notwithstanding the arrest and confinement of Colonel Burr was a duty, and a duty performed in a spirit of as great delicacy and forbearance as was consistent with the perfect security of his person; and notwithstanding he was confided to the care of Major Perkins, than whom a more humane, honorable man could not have been found; yet from the time of his arrival in Richmond to the present year, GAINES has found arrayed against him an influence which he has in vain endeavoured to account for.

The president, on being advised through the department of war that Burr had been arrested by Captain GAINES, authorized the appointment of marshal to be added to his various other civil appointments, with authority to notify his veteran commander, General

Wilkinson, with such other public officers and others at New Orleans acquainted with the projects of Burr, to attend his trial. With these officers the acting marshal embarked in a United States vessel of war in May, 1807, at New Orleans, and arrived at Old Point Comfort early in June, a few days previous to the attack on the frigate Chesapeake.

In the course of this trial, which immediately followed, Captain GAINES had reason to put in practice the principles of forbearance which he had early prescribed to himself. The counsel of Burr deemed it expedient to animadvert with much harshness, not only on the arrest of his client, but likewise on the conduct of the officer who made the arrest. The captain, satisfied with the good and faithful service he had rendered his country, was neither moved by these animadversions, nor for a moment thrown off the manly propriety of his deportment.

History will not hesitate to say, that whatever may have been the designs of Colonel Burr, they were at once frustrated by his prompt arrest and speedy conveyance to a proper place of trial. To Captain GAINES she will award the full merit of this act.

Our hero had now attained the thirtieth year of his age; he had thus far laboured through what may be considered the apprenticeship of his profession; he had acquired full confidence in his capability to serve his country in either a civil or a military capacity, and believed himself equal to any command in the army the government might see fit to confide to him.

Shortly after the trial of Colonel Burr, he determined to retire from the army, and engage in the profession of the law. The execution of this resolution was, however, for a while suspended, in consequence of the increased probability of a war with England. The chances of this event were soon, however, rendered nearly hopeless by the turn of public affairs. In this state of suspense, GAINES at length decided upon asking for a leave of absence.

This was promptly granted to him by his commanding general, Wade Hampton, with the understanding that if the prospect of war should subside within a year, he should be permitted to resign; otherwise, that he would remain in service. In this interval he commenced the practice of the law in the counties of Washington and Baldwin, Mississippi territory.

Scarcely had he completed his second circuit, under auspices of the most flattering character, when the alternative under which he

stood pledged to his general, occurred. The nation determined to maintain her rights. War was declared against Great Britain, and Captain GAINES joyfully resumed his sword, with a firm determination never again to abandon it so long as his country should need his services.

In the war which followed, he soon became distinguished among the most steadfast in the faithful performance of every arduous duty. The post of greatest danger was to him the post of honor. There he was always to be found, distinguished alike by the fertility of his resources, the imperturbable coolness of his courage, and the amiable simplicity of his manners. The details of his services are too voluminous for the limited space allowed in this memoir.

It must suffice to state, that after being on duty in the north-western division of the army, he was, subsequently to the battle of the Thames in Upper Canada, engaged in the operations on the northern frontier; where on various occasions his conduct as an officer received the highest commendation. In the action at Chrystler's Field, he was particularly distinguished; and at the memorable and brilliant defence of Fort Erie, in August, 1814, (at which post he commanded in chief, and was severely wounded by the bursting of a shell,) his bravery and skill were most conspicuous; nor was he ever wanting in magnanimity or humanity.

In the midst of the sanguinary conflicts in which he was then engaged, his conduct as a soldier won the admiration even of the enemy to whom he was opposed, and against whom he was then in arms on the field of battle. And it is so seldom the horrors of war are relieved by incidents which indicate the triumph of civilization and refinement in the character of the warrior, amidst the iron storm where courage is too often almost the only virtue recognised, that an occurrence so honorable to both the belligerent parties as the following, ought not to be forgotten.

At the battle of Chrystler's Field, before mentioned, which took place on the 11th of November, 1813, Colonel GAINES, but just recovered from the tedious illness which had deprived him of the honor of a participation in the glory of Harrison's victory on the Thames, commanded the twenty-fifth regiment of United States infantry.

That regiment was one of the most effective in the service. The important duty was that day assigned to it of covering the retreat of our several corps after the check which the enemy had received, to the place of reëmbarcation on the St. Lawrence.

The duty was a most important and arduous one. The officer who commanded the British force was Colonel Morrison, of the eighty-ninth, than whom His Majesty had not a more distinguished soldier or accomplished gentleman in his service.

Flushed with the advantages he had gained in the capture of a piece of our artillery, and in the death of General Covington, who had fallen at the head of his regiment, in a charge against the British line, Morrison pushed his regiment hard upon his retiring foe, until he encountered the gallant twenty-fifth. Here all his efforts failed. The twenty-fifth held firm foot in spite of repeated assaults, and manifested a degree of fortitude and discipline which astonished the veterans who had followed Wellington over so many fields of triumph. Under its gallant commander, GAINES, it remained as immovable as a rock.

The enemy finally repulsed, and our own corps again on their line of march to join the advance, the twenty-fifth slowly retired from the field, having by its brilliant deportment gained for us all the advantages which could have sprung from the most decided victory. Colonel Morrison himself was so much pleased with the conduct of the regiment, that after the battle he sent his card, with his compliments, to the officer who commanded it, expressing the warmest admiration of his courage and conduct, and desiring to be made acquainted with his name, that in case it should be hereafter his good fortune to meet the gentleman under more peaceful circumstances, he might at once claim the privileges of an old soldier and friend. It is needless to say, that a message so chivalric and magnanimous could not have been addressed to a heart more ready to respond, or prompt to reciprocate the exalted courtesy it evinced, than that of Colonel GAINES.

In the course of the war, GAINES received the several successive, rapid promotions, of lieutenant-colonel, colonel, adjutant-general, brigadier-general, and major-general; the last being the highest rank authorized by law, and conferred in a form the most acceptable to the soldier, inasmuch as it was "*a war brevet*," expressly stating the fact that *it was conferred on him in consequence of his gallant and meritorious conduct in battle.* The federal government also honored him and the officers and men of his command, with a unanimous vote of thanks, and authorized the president to provide and present to him a gold medal, whilst the three great and patriotic states of New York, Virginia, and Tennessee, awarded to

him unanimous resolutions of thanks, with a fine gold-hilted sword which he received from each of these states.

With the more recent actions and public services of General Gaines, we deem it unnecessary to dilate this sketch; he is still (1838) actively employed in the honorable and important trust which his country has confided to his hands; and his latest official communications to the government, display a highly intelligent and unremitted zeal for her welfare.

W Biddle

NICHOLAS BIDDLE.

THERE is one species of ancestral pride which the sternest republicanism, in its most jealous mood, regards with favor. We refer to that spirit which, in Rome, devoted particular families, through many generations, to the republic, and which impelled the second Brutus, after the lapse of centuries, to emulate the glory of the first. The heritage which consists in hoarded examples of lofty patriotism inspires every motive to excellence. Its only privilege is the necessity of extraordinary exertion and superior worth; and, while it borrows from affection, emulation, and pride, the strongest stimulants to virtuous action, it surrounds those who are subject to it by all the influences which enlarge and fortify the moral and intellectual character. Few men, in any country, have been, from birth, association, and education, more exposed to these kindling and patriotic influences than the subject of this brief memoir. His ancestors came to the country with William Penn, and participated in all the privations of the early settlers. Through the long series of contentions between the people of the province and the proprietary government, they were ranged on the side of the people; and when the war of the Revolution broke out, the whole family was distinguished in its zealous and heroic espousal of the cause of independence. Then, as in the late war, the entire family was given to the country, and its members were signalized by their services in the council, in the field, and on the wave. Charles Biddle, the father of NICHOLAS BIDDLE, was, throughout the contest, eminent for his active services and firm devotion to the cause; and, at the time of the birth of the latter, was vice-president of the commonwealth, of which Benjamin Franklin was president, and, we believe, John Armstrong, late minister to France, secretary; a fact which sufficiently indicates the high place which he had secured in the confidence and respect of his country. The following passage of a familiar and private letter from Charles Biddle, to be

found in the second volume of Davis' Life of Burr, gives an interesting anecdote of the times, and exhibits the heroism and patriotic devotion which inspired even the females of the family. "I remember," says Charles Biddle, "just before the commencement of the revolutionary war, my mother was disputing with an English officer. He said the Americans, of right, should not go to war; they could do nothing; they could get no person to head them. She replied that the Americans would have no difficulty in finding some person to command their army; that she had seven sons, and, if necessary, *would lead them herself* to oppose the enemy. *Two* of her sons fell during the war in the service of the country. I, too, have seven sons whom I would much sooner lead to the field than suffer our country to be insulted." The patriotic aspirations of the father were not disappointed, for he did live to see that when their insulted country called upon his sons, *every one of the seven* was found at his post.

Edward Biddle, uncle of the subject of this notice, served as a captain in the sanguinary war of 1756. He, too, was among the foremost advocates of independence, and was elected a representative from Pennsylvania to the congress of 1774. He was afterwards speaker of the house of representatives of Pennsylvania; but the decline of his health rendered a residence in the South necessary, and on his way thither, death closed a career honorable to himself and to his country. Nicholas Biddle, another uncle, was a midshipman in the British navy, and accompanied Lord Mulgrave in his expedition to the North Pole. But, with the characteristic spirit of the family, when the revolutionary struggle commenced, he broke through the influence of professional association, and abandoned the brilliant promises of the British service to share the doubtful fortunes of his country. He entered the American navy, and the government, discerning his merit, gave him all that he required—the opportunity to win distinction. His brief career is interwoven with one of the proudest incidents of our history, and while the American navy floats upon the wave will be remembered by the nation with wonder and exultation. While commanding the American frigate Randolph of thirty-two guns, he attacked, in the night, the Yarmouth, a British sixty-four gun ship. He was wounded early in the action, but refusing to go below had a chair placed on the quarter deck, from which, with undaunted spirit, he directed the engagement; when, in the midst of it, from some accident in the magazine of the Randolph herself, she blew up, and all the officers

and crew, except three men, perished. Nothing could be more glorious than such a life—but such a death.

Nicholas Biddle, was born at Philadelphia, on the 8th day of January, 1786. He began his education at the academy, whence he was introduced to the University of Pennsylvania, and passing through its successive probations, was about to take his degree in 1799, when his extreme youth, being then only thirteen years of age, occasioned his being sent to Princeton, in New Jersey. He is described by those who knew him at this period, as a thoughtful and severe student and a youth of dauntless and indomitable spirit. A classmate and companion, since a distinguished citizen, says of Mr. B., "I enjoyed an intimacy with him at that time, which gave me full opportunity of forming a judgment of his abilities, and I have a distinct recollection of having made up my mind that he was destined to be a great man."

Young Biddle remained at Princeton two years and a half, and graduated in September, 1801. His collegiate course was brilliant almost beyond parallel, and prepared those who witnessed it, comprising several who have since become ornaments of the republic, for the subsequent and loftier triumphs of his intellect. His standing and scholarship are shown by the fact that, though the youngest person, it is understood, that ever graduated before or since that time in the college, he and Mr. Edward Watts of Virginia, a gentleman very much his senior, divided the first honor of the class, the valedictory being assigned to Mr. Biddle.

On leaving college, he commenced the study of the law in Philadelphia. About this time his abilities attracted the attention and excited the admiration of one of the most remarkable judges of human nature which our country has afforded, Colonel Burr, who predicted for him a career of eminent usefulness and honor. In a letter written, on the eve of his meeting with Hamilton, to his son-in-law, Governor Alston, and containing what were supposed to be his last injunctions, the following singular and prophetic passage occurs: "My worthy friend, Charles Biddle of Philadelphia, has six or seven sons—three of them grown up. With different characters and various degrees of intelligence, they will all be men of eminence and of influence."

When the three years of Mr. Biddle's term of study were about to expire, General Armstrong was appointed minister of the United States to France, and offered to take the son of his old friend with him as secretary. He accordingly embarked in the year 1804, and

spent the three succeeding years in Europe. The period of his residence in France was one of extraordinary interest, not merely from its embracing the career of Napoleon from his coronation, but from the complicated relations between the United States and France, and especially from the examination and payment in detail of the claims of this country on France, which were paid out of the purchase money for Louisiana. This duty devolved almost exclusively upon the young secretary. The payments were made at the French bureau, and Mr. Biddle, with untiring assiduity, attended to the disbursement. The officers of the French government are mostly gentlemen of ripe years; Mr. Biddle, then about eighteen, was even more juvenile in appearance than years, and the advent among these grave dignitaries of this youthful depository of so important a trust was viewed with a wonder that was increased when they found him performing his arduous duties with the ability, firmness, and perseverance of a veteran statesman. Notwithstanding the severe labors of his office, Mr. Biddle found time to indulge a liberal curiosity in regard to all the great objects before him, and also to attend the scientific lectures so frequent and accessible in Paris. After leaving the legation he travelled through the greater part of France, through Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Germany, Belgium, and Holland. He then went to England, where he joined the late president Monroe, then American minister in London, with whom he served as secretary, Mr. Monroe's own secretary being absent. During his residence in England, an incident occurred which Mr. Monroe took great pleasure in relating, as an illustration of the ripe scholarship of his youthful secretary and friend. Mr. Biddle accompanied him to Cambridge, where, in a company at which the most learned gentlemen connected with the university were present, a discussion took place on some philological point arising from the difference between the Greek of Homer and the idiom of the modern Hellenes. Though familiar with the language of Homer, the literati present knew but little of the modern Greek, and the difficulty remained unsolved; when Mr. Biddle, who united to his classic accomplishments a knowledge of the tongue of modern Greece acquired when in that country, joined the conversation and explained the point, exhibiting a knowledge of the subject so profound and critical, that the learned gentlemen present listened in silent amazement, while Monroe, overjoyed at what he considered a kind of American triumph, with difficulty repressed his exultation and delight.

Mr. Biddle returned home in the autumn of 1807. During his long absence, he had seen much of men and things, and seen them in a way the most profitable. The ordinary routine of what is called travelling, the indiscriminate hurrying after objects of mere curiosity, though pleasant while it lasts, is not often productive of good to young persons. Mr. Biddle had a point of support, an object, an employment, and that employment was in the service of his country. Nothing so effectually subdues the spirit of party and removes the prejudice which confines the anxieties of patriotism to one-half the country, as a residence abroad in a public character; a position that identifies the individual with the whole nation. It is, perhaps, this experience that has given to Mr. Biddle's mind a character so wholly national, for few men have brought into the public councils a spirit more expanded, a patriotism more comprehensive or more free from all tincture of local or sectional feeling.

On his return he commenced the practice of the law. In the fragments of time saved from more severe pursuits, he occasionally relaxed his mind in contributions to the scientific and literary periodicals of the day. His efforts were as diversified as literature itself, and exhibit that elasticity of mind and versatility of genius which have rendered his various subsequent productions so successful. His disquisitions on the Fine Arts, published about this time, displayed a profound knowledge of the subject, and acquired a reputation which no one who now peruses them will consider unmerited. His writings at this period are graceful and polished. Indeed, several of these early efforts have been, and are even now, ascribed to the elegant Dennie; but his articles manifest an originality and vigor, a reach of thought and a variety of acquirement which Dennie did not possess. Their mutual friendship induced them to form a literary partnership for conducting the Port Folio. The death, however, of Mr. Dennie, which occurred soon after the association was formed, removed its principal attraction; but Mr. Biddle continued to conduct it alone for some time, until another editor was procured. Of the merits of the Port Folio, it is unnecessary to speak; it now constitutes a part of the literature of the country—a part that will not be discredited by a comparison with any thing that has since been given to the public. About this period, Lewis and Clarke were preparing for publication the history of their expedition across the continent of America; but the premature death of Lewis induced his companion, Clarke, to solicit Mr. Biddle to edit the work. He accordingly went carefully over the materials

afforded by the notes of the expedition, and received from Mr. Clarke a large mass of additional information, which he worked up, with great skill and ability, furnishing one of the most valuable and pleasant productions of that character which has fallen from the press. He also induced Mr. Jefferson to prepare the memoir of Captain Lewis prefixed to the work. The whole was ready for publication, when Mr. BIDDLE's public engagements rendered it impossible to attend to its passage through the press, and he therefore transferred the work, with all the compensation stipulated for it, to Mr. Paul Allen. Mr. Allen piloted it through the press, and his name is naturally affixed to it; but as a matter of literary history, it is a subject of curiosity to know that these two octavo volumes, "The Travels of Lewis and Clarke," were written by Mr. BIDDLE.

The engagements referred to were political. He was chosen one of the representatives of the city of Philadelphia in the state legislature, in which capacity he passed, at Lancaster, the winter of 1810—11. In this new sphere he at once assumed a commanding position, and proved himself a statesman of enlarged views and lofty principles. He manifested, from the start, that which peculiarly distinguishes the patriot statesman from the mere politician—the genius to originate great measures for the advancement of the public interests. The measures brought before the legislature by Mr. BIDDLE have since been made familiar to the public, but they were then new and startling innovations. The statesman who projected them did not light his torch at the blaze of public opinion, but relied upon his own intellect and the hope of illuminating the community. The enterprise demanded a quarter of a century for its consummation; but not the less praise is due to him who, unaided and uncheered, ventured upon the sea. The first measure of this character undertaken by Mr. BIDDLE was the establishment of a system of popular education. From conviction and feeling an ardent republican, he sought, by the diffusion of popular intelligence, to expand and vindicate the democratic principle. He, therefore, brought the project before the legislature, and labored energetically in its support. He made an elaborate and eloquent report, and introduced a school bill, the basis of which was, not a gratuitous but a very cheap system of public instruction. He urged the scheme with zeal and power; but he was before the age. The state was not prepared for such novelties. The glory of carrying out these principles belongs to the present generation; the school law of 1836 being only the ripe fruit of Mr. BIDDLE's bill of 1811. But those

who rejoice most in their triumph will accord to Nicholas Biddle the credit of being the father of the system of popular instruction in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Biddle's attention was also directed to the commencement of a vigorous system of internal improvement.

But a measure of more general interest, and which occupied the attention of the union at large, drew upon the youthful statesman the eyes of the whole nation. The charter of the bank of the United States expired in 1811; and the question of its recharter was then agitated with as much violence as the same subject has, in later days, excited. Among the modes of opposition practised by the enemies of the bank, one was to procure instructions from the legislature to the members of congress from Pennsylvania to vote against the recharter. A resolution of this character was introduced, and it was in opposition to that resolution that Mr. Biddle made his first speech. The speech produced a great sensation at the time, and established the reputation of its author. It is remarkable not only for its power and the soundness of its general principles, but from the strange coincidence that he should begin his career by a prophetic warning of the evil consequences of the destruction of the bank; that those evils should have actually occurred; that the listeners to that warning, convinced by melancholy experience of their error, should, when afterwards transferred to Washington, have been the chief promoters of the charter of a new bank; and, finally, that this very youth should become the head of that bank, and in that capacity, vindicating his early positions, should acquire for himself and the institution a credit throughout the commercial world, of which the history of the country furnishes no parallel. It is no less remarkable that although the question was then wholly new, not having yet been discussed in congress or elsewhere, the speech of Mr. Biddle embodies, in a condensed form, almost every thing—the leading principles and general facts—which has been since developed in the multitudinous discussions that have succeeded. The speech itself elicited universal applause, and received, what is more valuable than any general praise, the most decided eulogium from the late Chief Justice Marshall. It was circulated generally, and eagerly read, and did much to extend and establish the reputation of its author in all sections of the union.

At the close of the session he declined a reëlection, and retired from public life, dividing his time between his studies, which were always pursued with the most vigorous diligence, and agriculture,

for which he has manifested, throughout life, a decided predilection. These pursuits were, however, soon interrupted by the events of the war, which summoned into action the best spirits of the nation. In the year 1814, the situation of the country was extremely critical. The capitol had been destroyed, the whole south was menaced by a flushed and insolent foe, the finances were in extreme disorder, and every thing indicated despondency and distress. These were not times when a Biddle could enjoy retirement and inaction. He was elected to represent the city and county of Philadelphia in the senate of Pennsylvania, by a vote considerably beyond that of any party for the legislature or congress. Of the spirit which he carried into the public councils, some idea may be formed from the fact, that of the seven brothers composing his family, one was an officer in the navy, (Commodore James Biddle,) two were in the regular army, and three were volunteers in active service in the militia, while he, the seventh, was in the senate. As soon as it was apparent that no reliance could be placed on congress, he came forward in the senate with his own plans of defence. "It is now," said he, "nearly four months since the eyes of this nation have anxiously watched the movements of congress. They found the capitol in ruins—the finances prostrate—the army, in every thing but its honor, a shadow—the whole coast menaced with invasion—no hopes of peace but by the sword. These things might have kindled into energy the dullest statesman; yet day after day has been wasted in frivolous debate or bitter controversies—and now neither men nor money, nor preparations for defence, nor means of carrying on the war, seem to be expected from that congress which was convened for the express purpose of providing them. It is time, therefore, for Pennsylvania to defend herself, to indulge no longer in this fatal confidence, but at once look all our dangers in the face and prepare to repel them."

He then presented a system which consisted of a bounty for sailors to man the floating batteries for the defence of Philadelphia, the purchase of arms, the levy of a permanent military force of eight thousand men, and a loan on the credit of the state to defray the expense of these measures. All these provisions were adopted by the senate; but, in the house of representatives, the army bill was lost from a difference of opinion as to the mode of raising the necessary force. It was immediately revived in the senate, and that body was actually engaged in discussing it, when the debate was suddenly terminated by the arrival of the glad tidings that the war was

at an end. All the measures for the defence of Pennsylvania were proposed by Mr. Biddle; and those who witnessed the crisis will not forget the patriotic energy with which he met the emergency.

The return of peace left to the legislature only one duty to the other states, that of quieting the political distractions which had grown out of the war. In the midst of that conflict, the New England states, chafed by what they deemed wrongs to their peculiar interests, met in convention at Hartford and proposed to all the other states radical changes in the constitution of the union. This abandonment of their own work, this declaration of the weakness and insufficiency of that constitution which these New England states had been the foremost to adopt, was of such evil example, that it was justly deemed of great importance to counteract its influence. The other states had given cold or contumelious negatives to this proposal, calculated only to harden the prejudices they could not subdue. It was thought far better to address the reason of the country, to interpose between the combatants the quiet energy of Pennsylvania, which had no object to gain but the general good of the union, and endeavor to satisfy the country that the constitution was not the weak and impotent federation which these reformers pronounced it, but that it was a just and generous compact which could be only injured by the proposed attempts to improve it. For this purpose Mr. Biddle prepared, and the legislature adopted, a report which was considered as the answer of Pennsylvania to the Hartford convention. This production was worthy the occasion and the exalted purpose for which it was intended. It bears the impress of genius, and stamps its author as a statesman. The report did not fail to produce a deep impression not only in this country but abroad, as being not merely a refutation of the proposed amendments, but a thorough and masterly vindication of the institutions of the United States. One of the most distinguished political writers of England said of it on its first appearance: "With the exception of the poems of Pope, I never read any thing of which I should so much like to have been the author as this answer of the state of Pennsylvania. Let any man read this paper penned in one of the state legislatures of America, and when he has compared it with the state papers of our ambassadors and ministers, let him say whether aristocracy has reserved itself a monopoly of talent." Mr. Biddle's report unquestionably does honor to his native state, and may be regarded as one of the very best state papers which the political controversies of our country have elicited. Even at this day, it may

be read with profit and interest, as presenting views of public policy applicable to many of the political questions now agitating us.

In the year 1817, Mr. Biddle, after a legislative career which exhibited a brilliant genius joined with an ardent devotion to the public good, and which secured him the confidence of all parties, voluntarily retired from the senate before the expiration of his term of service, and resumed his private pursuits. He now devoted himself with uninterrupted ardor to the studies from which his public duties had partially alienated him. Despising the arts by which demagogues urge themselves upon a reluctant people, he rather shunned than courted political distinction. His distinguished merit, however, could not be overlooked, and at the succeeding election, 1818, he was nominated to represent the city and county of Philadelphia in congress; but the democratic party, of which he was a candidate, was then in a minority, and although he received a larger number of votes than any other candidate on the same ticket, the adverse party prevailed. At the next congressional election in 1820, he was again nominated, by the same political party, but with the same result, Mr. B. again receiving a larger vote than any of his colleagues on the same ticket.

In the year 1819, he first became connected with the bank of the United States, an incident which contributed to give a direction to his subsequent career, and secured to the country the aid of his extraordinary abilities in the important field of finance. The institution was at that time justly considered in great jeopardy. Its affairs had been investigated by a committee of congress, and the report of that committee tended to inspire distrust and apprehension. To add to these difficulties, its president had resigned; and the position and prospects of the bank became so critical, that the most vigorous exertions were deemed necessary to revive the public confidence. For this purpose, president Monroe, without the knowledge of Mr. Biddle, nominated him as a director of the bank on the part of the United States. This mark of confidence was not only unexpected, but unwelcome to Mr. B., for he had previously declined being a director on the part of the stockholders; but thus summoned, by the national executive, to what had become a serious and important trust, he did not feel himself at liberty to decline the task. He accordingly took his place in the bank at the same time that Mr. Langdon Cheves, who had been previously elected president, assumed the duties of his station. In conjunction with that gentleman he labored with great industry in arranging the affairs and esta-

blishing the character of the institution, and, having no special employment at the time, was enabled to turn into that channel the almost undivided energies of his mind.

An active intellect, however, has, even amid the most engrossing labors, leisure for incidental duties. Mr. BIDDLE's energetic habits enabled him, at the request of Mr. Monroe, to undertake and accomplish a work for which his varied acquirements peculiarly qualified him. By a resolution of congress, the department of state was authorized to collect the laws and regulations of all foreign countries relative to commerce, moneys, weights, and measures, and the various objects connected with trade. The duty was committed by the president to Mr. BIDDLE, who analyzed and digested, with great ability, a large mass of crude materials in various languages, into an octavo volume entitled "*Commercial Digest.*"

In the year 1821, he removed permanently to his farm in Bucks county. While residing there, the resignation of Mr. Cheves as president of the United States Bank occasioned a general convention at Philadelphia of all the stockholders of the bank throughout the United States. The selection of a successor was regarded as a matter of great delicacy and importance, not merely in relation to the interests of the institution itself, but from its influence upon the credit and commercial prosperity of the country at large. The subject was, therefore, anxiously canvassed as well in the public prints as among the stockholders. The station called for commanding abilities, a genius practical, fertile in resources, profoundly skilled in finance, and versed in all the comprehensive and diversified interests connected with trade. Public opinion pointed to Mr. BIDDLE as preëminently fitted for the arduous and momentous trust, and he was accordingly invited to accept the presidency. The result elicited general applause, and the government manifested its approbation of the choice by appointing Mr. B. a director on the part of the United States. He entered upon the duties of the office in January, 1823. His previous service of three years in the bank had made him familiar with its concerns, and had given him some peculiar views of its administration, which he now proceeded gradually and cautiously to develope. The details of this subject belong to history, and cannot, of course, be given in the present brief and hurried notice; but the general purpose of the change of system may be made intelligible in a few words. By the charter of the bank, all its notes were made receivable in all payments to the government. It was objected that as these notes were payable in so many

places, provision must be made to pay them in those places, so that a greater amount of specie must be kept in reserve than the amount of notes in circulation. Application was made to congress to alter the charter so as to make the notes payable only where they were issued, and it was declared by the bank to congress, that unless the change were made, the bank would be not only useless but injurious. With this view of the subject, there could, of course, be no general circulation of its notes, no regulation of the domestic exchanges—the whole amount of notes on the first of January, 1823, being about three and a half millions of dollars, and the amount of domestic bills on hand less than two millions of dollars.

With these opinions Mr. Biddle did not at all concur. He thought that the universal receivability of the notes, so far from being injurious, was highly beneficial to the bank and to the country; and that there was no danger of issuing the notes, if the branches issuing them were careful to provide funds for their redemption at the points to which the well known course of trade would necessarily carry them. He considered this very provision beneficial in another point of view; he believed that it would enable the bank, by the policy just mentioned, to regulate the domestic exchanges and effect the great object of its creation. Having matured the project in his own mind, he proceeded to carry it out. Years of patient and anxious labor, directed by the most vigilant sagacity, were necessary to bring all the parts of this original and admirable system into full action. That consummation was, however, at last attained, when, as in 1835, there had been established nine new branches, making the whole consist of the bank at Philadelphia and *twenty-five branches;* sustaining a wholesome circulation of twenty-four millions, based on twenty-four millions of current bills of exchange, with fifteen or sixteen millions of specie.

The change thus gradually and quietly effected, was regarded throughout the world as one of the miracles of genius. It brightened the aspect of the whole country, and inspired health and animation in all the various pursuits of trade and industry. The effect of Mr. Biddle's system is thus explained by the report of the committee of ways and means of the house of representatives: "It may be confidently asserted that no country in the world has a currency of greater uniformity than the United States, and that no country of any thing like the same geographical extent, has a currency at all comparable to that of the United States on the score of uniformity;" and again: "It has actually furnished a circulating medium more

uniform than specie." The committee of finance of the senate characterized with equal force the success of Mr. Biddle's administration. "This seems to present a state of currency approaching as near to perfection as could be desired;" and again; "It is not easy to imagine, it is scarcely necessary to desire, any currency better than this."

During the whole of this period, the bank was an object of universal and deserved popularity. Applications were constantly made for the establishment of its branches in every section of the country. The institution was in perfect harmony with the administrations of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams, and pursued its noiseless career of usefulness, praised and cherished by all classes and parties. Perhaps not an individual in the country dreamed that it would or could be made the subject of opposition.

It was during this career that General Jackson came into power. One of the first measures of his administration was believed to be an effort to connect the bank with his political support. The attempt was full of danger to the country, and had the administration of the bank been in feeble or corrupt hands would doubtless have succeeded. It was, however, immediately and decisively repelled: but from that moment a war was waged against the institution, which in intense exasperation can scarcely find a parallel in the history of civil dissension. Our limits will not permit us even to refer to the details of that interesting struggle; our present purpose is to exhibit its effect upon the character of the president of the bank. The position and popularity of the high functionary who decreed the downfall of the institution were certainly formidable; but it was in the hands of one adequate to any emergency. Mr. Biddle owed it to his country and to the institution over which he presided to uphold it, and he did so; not passively or with indecision, but with determined and active vigor. He manifested throughout the series of extraordinary events which succeeded, a firmness that never was shaken and a calmness that nothing could ruffle. His skilful pilotage of the institution through that storm displayed a mind rich in all that the crisis demanded; composed, but ardent; prompt, but profound; a genius so bold and comprehensive, a knowledge so vast, an experience so complete, a fertility of resources so ready and inexhaustible, that we cannot be surprised at the admiration which it everywhere inspired. The odds were all against him in the contest, yet he was never found wanting, and never placed in the wrong. His course won the applause of the

first spirits of the age in this country and Europe, and secured him the confidence and gratitude not only of his constituents of the bank, but of the business community at large. Mr. John Q. Adams, in his report of 1832, speaks thus of the administration of Mr. Biddle. "Ten years long has this confidence been enjoyed and justified by that distinguished citizen and honorable man. No scruple has ever crossed the mind of any president of the United States to deter him from nominating him year after year as a government director. Not a voice had ever been raised in the senate to cause their hesitation to confirm his appointment; and so perfectly in harmony with this confidence was that of the public, that not a rumor has ever been raised of the prospect or even of the project of the election of any other person as president in his place."

The general results of the contest are well known. Mr. Biddle, notwithstanding General Jackson's opposition, procured from congress, by large majorities in both houses, a recharter of the bank in 1832. This act the president vetoed. From that time no further application was made to congress; but, at the expiration of the charter granted by the United States, a new charter was obtained from the state of Pennsylvania for the same capital. The whole history of these events is condensed in a few words in the address of Mr. Biddle, in presenting this charter to the stockholders.

"I was about to ask leave to retire from your service, when an unhappy controversy arose between the bank and one of its partners, the government; and I felt bound to stand by the bank while its interests seemed in jeopardy. It was an original misfortune in the structure of the bank, that it was in any way connected with persons in office. The instincts of all political power make that association dangerous—useful to neither party, injurious to both. Accordingly I saw, or thought I saw, in our official associate a design to subject to personal and political influences the movements of the bank. I knew that such a purpose, if defeated, might destroy the bank, but, if successful, would make it not worth preserving; and that it was better for the bank, and far better for the free institutions of the country, that the bank should perish in that struggle, rather than prolong its existence by surviving its independence. My effort then, was, at all times, and at all hazards, to maintain the rights of the institution, respectfully, fearlessly, calmly; yielding nothing to the madness of popular delusion, compromising nothing with official power. How that strife was conducted you all know —how it has ended is proved by the events of this day, which ren-

der the bank safer, stronger, and more prosperous than it ever was. Of that unfortunate associate I desire to speak with all gentleness and forbearance, nor will I mar the pleasures of this meeting by any recurrence to the past. He will soon leave us. He will carry away not only a just, but a generous portion of our earnings; but then he will depart in peace—forgiven and forgotten."

These more important and engrossing avocations did not prevent him from engaging in other duties, which he found, we can scarcely imagine how, time to fulfil. No measure for the advancement of learning and the arts, no scheme for the public good, no effort of patriotism or humanity has wanted his generous and hearty support. He is an active member of a great number of societies for benevolent and useful purposes. As president of the Agricultural Society of Philadelphia he has, by his zeal, practical knowledge, and high example, done much to promote the farming interests of the state. He is himself a successful agriculturist; and the products of his farm have, in market, as well as the horticultural exhibitions at the city, been, for years, objects of curiosity and commendation. As president of the Girard College, his exertions have manifested an intense interest in the cause of popular instruction, and have contributed mainly to the organization of that noble institution upon wise and expanded principles. To his exertions alone the country owes one of the most beautiful structures of modern times—the Girard College. Mr. Biddle, in the spirit of Pericles, determined that the structure should be built for posterity. He proposed the present plan, and, in the midst of wild political excitement and opposition, persisted firmly, and secured a building which every citizen now not only approves but applauds, and which will, hereafter, be the architectural boast of the country. While on this subject we may add, that the building which next to the Girard College is perhaps the noblest triumph of architecture in the land, the United States Bank, was also erected under the superintendence of Mr. Biddle, as chairman of the building committee of that institution. This interest in all the arts which adorn and dignify social existence, united, as it is, with a stern devotion to the harsher philosophy of practical life, is a peculiarity of Mr. Biddle's character.

We shall here close what concerns the public career of Mr. Biddle, of which we purposed to give only a general outline, and, having already transcended our limits, will add only a few words touching those miscellaneous particulars which may interest our readers.

In the course of his career, he has, on various occasions, appeared before the public as a writer. Though these effusions, with the exception of his juvenile efforts, have been extorted from him amid the clash and bustle of laborious and often momentous duties, yet he who peruses them cannot repress a sentiment of regret that Mr. Biddle had not been devoted to literature alone. His speeches in the legislature were reprinted and praised in all parts of the union. His eulogium on Thomas Jefferson, delivered before the Philosophical Society, of which he is a member, is considered the best pronounced on that occasion, though the subject engaged the first intellects of the country. The oration on agriculture, delivered by him before the Agricultural Society, unites practical instruction with classic learning and eloquence. The closing passage, especially, is of surpassing excellence. His address before the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall is of a still higher order of merit. It points out the public duties of an American, and never were the high privileges and responsibilities of a freeman so well portrayed. His own lofty and unshackled spirit breathes and burns in every period. He enjoins with earnest and kindling eloquence the learning, labor, and elevation of spirit which honest public life requires, and holds up to scorn the unworthy parasites of the populace. After referring to the patriots of other ages and countries, he says: "Trained by these studies and animated by the habitual contemplation of those who have gone before you, as a true American statesman, you may lay your hand on your country's altar. From that hour, swerved by no sinister purpose, swayed by no selfish motive, your whole heart must be devoted to her happiness and her glory. No country could be worthier a statesman's care. On none has nature lavished more of the materials of happiness and of greatness; as fatal if they are misdirected, as they must be glorious when rightly used. On the American statesman, then, devolves the solemn charge of sustaining its institutions against temporary excesses, either of the people or their rulers; and protecting them from their greatest foes, which will always lie in their own bosom. You can accomplish this only by persevering in your own independence—by doing your duty fearlessly to the country. If you fail to please her, *do not the less serve her, for she is not the less your country.*" Were the statesmen of our country guided by the following high and heroic principles, our republic would be immortal: "Never let any action of your life be influenced by the desire of obtaining popular applause at the expense of your own sincere and manly convictions. No

favor from any sovereign, a single individual, or thirteen millions, can console you for the loss of your own esteem. If they are offended, trust to their returning reason to do you justice, and should that hope fail, where you cannot serve with honor you can retire with dignity. You did not seek power, and you can readily leave it, since you are qualified for retirement, and since you carry into it the proud consolation of having done your duty." Mr. Biddle's style is formed on the purest models. He has cultivated with great success the power of saying the most things in the fewest words. Condensation, point, and originality, are his peculiarities. His thoughts do not struggle in a deluge of words, and are not expressed in the swollen diction which he has felicitously characterized as "*our western orientalism.*" His manner, however, is not only classic in its simplicity; it is breathing and quick with life; his sentences are exquisitely turned, and modulated with a delicate perception of melody.

Though Mr. Biddle, when in public life, won distinction as a speaker, his pursuits have for many years withdrawn him from the forum. He has, however, been called upon, on various occasions, to address large and enlightened audiences, and always with signal success. His elocution is exceedingly graceful and polished. He is free from the extravagances of American oratory, and furnishes a model of strength without violence, and grace devoid of affectation. His diction is fluent, choice, and fervid, and his general style bold and effective. He is fortunate in possessing a voice singularly deep and clear, and which enables him, without apparent effort, to give the greatest effect to all that he utters.

The present is not the period when Mr. Biddle's character can be faithfully and aptly drawn; there are, however, prominent features in his moral portrait recognised by all, and in which it is impossible to be mistaken. The first of these is that high order of courage, which, after having marked out a course, never refers to consequences. The second is perhaps that elastic activity which is never for a moment sluggish or depressed—an activity not variable, fitful, or feverish, but which is the result of inborn strength, and is steady and unflagging. Let us add to these moral traits a composure and self-possession, which, under all circumstances, enable him to exert every faculty and direct every resource, at the right time and in the right way. We have been assured that, throughout his long connexion with the bank, the exciting occurrences which transpired never betrayed him into an exhibition of weakness or irritation.

Yet no one deems him passionless; excitement, with him, instead of exhausting itself in feeble outbursts, is turned into action and gives energy and power to the machinery of the mind. These moral qualities, united to an intellect of the highest order, impart a force of character that has never failed in the attainment of its results. His character is formed for great trusts and great emergencies. Like Napoleon, he borrows no resources; he makes systems for himself, and finds for the greatest difficulty a greater energy to overcome it. The ruling feature of his intellect is pervading, comprehensive, vigorous *common sense;* a sagacity, that while it expands to the grandest outlines, is not too ponderous to grasp the smallest details; a power that disenchants and simplifies the most abstruse science, and throws the glare of day upon the recesses of a subject, where others grope and stagger, as if stricken with mental blindness. It is this faculty that has enabled him, for so many years, to control with salutary sway the "vasty deep" of finance. In every department of intellectual exertion he has the advantage of rare and accomplished scholarship. He has been, throughout his career, even when most burthened with business, a close student, and has preserved, amid all the trials of a working-day life, his early fondness for literature and the fine arts. His manners are kind and polished, and his conversation unaffected and eloquent. His elegant taste and accomplished scholarship have made him the centre and ornament of the literary circles of the city of his birth; and the fervid kindness of his nature has secured the sincere and affectionate friendship of those whose admiration was first excited by the elegance of his wit and the charms of his social intercourse. Mr. Biddle is somewhat above the middle stature; his forehead is remarkably high and ample, and his eyes are blue and piercing. His countenance does not wear the ascetic cast generally contracted by long-continued and severe mental exertion, but is frank and cheerful, expressive of amiable and generous feeling. Many busts and paintings of Mr. Biddle have been taken of various degrees of merit. The portrait of Rembrandt Peale, from which is taken the engraving prefixed to this notice, is preferred: we would consider ourselves fortunate could we portray with equal fidelity the features of his mind.

Ars utinam mores animumque effingere posset;
Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret.

Mr. Biddle was married in 1811, and has six children. In the domestic and social relations of life he is highly felicitous. No one

has more friends, or friends more devoted to him. We may add that no one has encountered more enmity. There are times when even the virtues of a man provoke hostility, as Tacitus has expressed it, *nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala:* few have realized this danger more than he, none have more calmly disregarded it. Though bitterly assailed, he has left his conduct to vindicate itself. He has never stooped to conciliate power or soften opposition. His rectitude is based upon principle not opinion, and seeks his own praise careless of that of others; his patriotism does not throb only in the sunshine of the hour—its aspirations are for posterity, not party; for ages, not years.

> "Stand free and fast,
> And judge him by no more than what you know
> Ingenuously, and by the right laid line
> Of truth, he truly will all styles deserve
> Of wise, just, good; *a man both soul and nerve.*"

R. T. C.

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